JOHN MARSHALL IN INDIA

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES
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ISSUED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

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VOLUME V

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JOHN MARSHALL IN INDIA

Notes and Observations in Bengal

1668–1672

EDITED AND ARRANGED UNDER SUBJECTS

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PREFACE

Two of the four MSS. left by John Marshall for the inspection of his friends, Dr. Henry More and Dr. John Covel, in 1677, now included in the Harleian Collection of the Library of the British Museum, are here presented in a readable fashion.

Marshall has long been known as "the earliest Englishman who really studied Indian Antiquities," and his Sanskrit attainments are mentioned by Marshman in his *History of Bengal*, published in 1887. The discursive comments in Marshall's *Notes and Observations* (*Harl. MSS.* 4254, 4255) have been drawn upon to a small extent by the late C. R. Wilson in his *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. i., published in 1895, and to a much greater extent by Sir Richard Temple in his editions of Thomas Bowrey's *MS.*, the *Diaries of Streynsham Master* and the *Travels of Peter Mundy*. But hitherto the difficulty of making adequate use of the valuable information contained in these MSS. has been the haphazard manner in which it is arranged. With the exception of the *Diaries* of his various journeys, which are more or less connected, Marshall made no attempt at grouping his subjects, but jotted down his notes as they occurred to him, or as he received them from his informants. Thus, a remark on the famine in Patna follows a remedy for gout; that, again, is sandwiched between a description of Nepāl

and a charm against witchcraft; and so on. In consequence, a student had, perforce, to decipher many folios of difficult script in the search for the one sentence needed to elucidate a certain point.

To obviate these difficulties, I have arranged the information recorded by Marshall under subject-headings, regardless of the order observed in the MSS. At the same time, the folio whence each extract is taken is given in every instance, so that references can be easily verified from the original.

In reproducing the text I have adhered closely to Marshall's spelling, but have extended abbreviations and have modernised his punctuation where absolutely necessary. In the *Diaries* I have adopted a consistent method of reproducing dates.

I am greatly indebted to Sir Richard Temple, who has contributed introductory remarks to the chapters dealing with Hindu Religion and Folklore, and to Mr. G. R. Kaye, who has annotated the chapter on Astrology and Astronomy. My thanks are also due to Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, and Mr. Naimur-Rahman, Lecturer in Arabic, Allahabad University, for their additional notes, for Chapters VIII and XII, on Hindu religion and the Muslim faith respectively.

My thanks are especially due to Sir Richard Temple, Bart., who placed his most valuable notes at my disposal, and whose unrivalled knowledge of the period was of the utmost value in a work dealing with a variety of subjects. I am under a deep debt of obligation to Miss L. M. Anstey. In fact this book, as well as my work on the *Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century*, could never have been prepared

without her help. She has been most helpful at every stage of preparation—the deciphering of the MSS, its arrangement, the Introduction, the annotation. This book is as much the result of the joint labours of Sir Richard Temple and Miss Anstey as of mine, and if it possesses any merit, it must be shared equally—I should say, to a greater extent—by them. Without their labours, the work would not have seen the light of the day.

In some parts of the book, as in the Introduction and the arrangement of the work under appropriate headings, my share has been very small, and Miss Anstey has expended on it her unrivalled store of knowledge.

In other parts, especially the chapters dealing with folk-lore, etc., Sir Richard Temple has contributed all the notes. His notes were extremely useful in other parts of the book.

A work of this kind can be produced only by the co-operation of specialists. It is difficult for a specialist, say, in Hindu Astrology, to do justice to a chapter on Islam. A certain amount of specialisation seemed to me to be essential, otherwise the notes would have been jejune and perfunctory.

I hope, however, that the unity of the work has not been destroyed.

The task of elucidating Marshall's *Notes*, annotating them, and presenting them in a worthy and readable fashion has occupied some years, but if the knowledge so acquired is now made easily available to all students of seventeenth century Anglo-Indian History, the labour will not have been in vain. I believe the book will revolutionise our conceptions of seventeenth century India. There is hardly an aspect

of Indian life with which the author does not deal, and on which he does not throw fresh light. Many of the problems of seventeenth century Indian history are solved by the learned, accurate and intelligent account which Marshall has supplied.

S. A. K.

London, *September*, 18, 1927.

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INTRODUCTION

John Marshall, the author of the *Notes and Observations on East India* reproduced in this volume, does not figure prominently in the early history of the East India Company. Unlike his contemporaries, John March, Walter Clavell, Matthias Vincent and Job Charnock, he had no direct intercourse with the ruling authorities of his day, nor did he take any part in obtaining grants for trade, redress of grievances or extension of territory in the early days of the East India Company. His fame rests on different grounds. For eight years after his arrival in India he pursued the even tenour of his way in Bengal, but as the first Englishman who really studied Indian antiquities, he left behind him a store of knowledge that will keep his memory for ever green in the hearts of all enquirers into Anglo-Indian history.

Born in the troublous days of King Charles I, John, third son of Ralph Marshall of Theddlethorpe, Lincolnshire, and Abigail, daughter of Robert Rogers of Netherthorpe, Yorkshire, was baptised at East Theddlethorpe Church on 1st March, 164½. From Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (iii. 147) and Peile's *Biog. Reg. of Christ's College* (i. 592) we learn that he passed his school days at Louth under Mr. Skelton, and that on 25th June, 1660, at the age of eighteen, he was "admitted sizar" to Mr. Covel at Christ's College,

Cambridge, matriculating on 17th December of that year and taking his B.A. in 166$\frac{3}{4}$.

While his son was at Cambridge, Ralph Marshall appears to have died, and the family moved from Lincolnshire to Essex, settling at Broomfield, now a suburb of Chelmsford, but then a village at some little distance from the town.

Of Marshall's college days nothing has come down to us except the fact that he formed a firm attachment for two notable scholars of his time, Dr. John Covel and Dr. Henry More. The former, three years his senior, was later to become famous both as a traveller and writer, while the latter, the well-known Cambridge Platonist, who hailed from Marshall's native county, had been a Fellow of the College since 1639, and was probably a friend of the family, standing *in loco parentis* to the young student. At the same time it was the presence of More at Cambridge which made Marshall determine to relinquish an academic career, since, according to the "Statutes of Christ's Colledge 2 men of one county could not at the same time be fellow[s] of that Colledge."

Accordingly, at the age of twenty-five, Marshall sought some other means of livelihood, and since his eldest brother Ralph was steward to Lord Craven, whose town house had been leased to the East India Company in 1648 (Foster, *East India House*, p. 24), there was little difficulty in obtaining an introduction and recommendation to the Court of Committees. At the instance of his steward Lord Craven personally interviewed Sir Andrew Riccard and Sir William Rider, Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Company, and also Earl Berkeley, an influential member of the Court

of Committees. With such support young Marshall's admittance to the service was assured, and he was summoned to London and duly elected a factor on 8th January, 166 7/8.

A fortnight later, after having taken leave of his friends in Essex, Marshall was escorted to Gravesend by three of his brothers all of whom outlived him. Ralph, Lord Craven's steward, died in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, London, in 1700, being still possessed of property in Theddlethorpe and elsewhere in Lincolnshire (*P.C.C. Wills*, 10 Noel). He left a son Thomas, who, like his father, was connected with Craven House. Robert Marshall followed the example of John and entered the Company's service, also through the influence of Lord Craven, in 1670 (*Court Book*, xxvii. 67), and held various posts in the Factory at Bantam in Java up to 1678 when, "having served his full five years," he requested permission to return to England (*Factory Records*, Java, vol. vi.). Thomas Marshall died in Somerset in 1688. A fourth brother, William, probably a child in 1668, is mentioned in his will (*P.C.C. Wills*, 49 Exton). No other details of interest regarding the family have come to light.

At Gravesend John Marshall went on board the *Unicorn* (commanded by Thomas Harman), a vessel of 330 tons, carrying thirty guns and forming part of a fleet of ten ships then making ready for India and the East. The *Log* of the *Unicorn* has been preserved (*Harl. MS.* 4252), and from it and Marshall's own notes the story of the voyage can be gathered. After having deposited his belongings on board, he went back with his brothers to London, finally taking leave

of them on 27th January, although it was not till the 1st February that the ship reached the Downs. Marshall went ashore at Deal, and, "having agreed with the Captain to bee of his Mess," bought "wine and strong waters" and sent them on board. The fleet was delayed by bad weather, and it was not until 14th March that the travellers "lost sight of England."

On board the *Unicorn* with Marshall were Valentine Nurse, afterwards associated with him at Patna, and John Billingsley, at whose wedding in Hūglī he was present in 1671, but there is no mention of any of his companions in his own account of the voyage. In fact, Marshall is singularly reticent regarding his associates both on the way to India and after his arrival there.

The fleet had orders that as many ships as possible should arrive together at Fort St. George, then "in rebellion to the Company," for Sir Edward Winter, the late Agent, had deposed George Foxcraft, elected as his successor by the Court of Committees, and had usurped his office. Captain John Price of the *Blackamore* carried the "Kings Commission," and each ship, as we learn from the *Log* of the *Unicorn*, was provided with "12 Souldiers and other ammunition for retaking it [Fort St. George] by force and establishing George Foxcroft Esq. as Agent againe for the Company."

On 26th March, 1668, the *Unicorn* reached Madeira, where several English merchants were then residing, among them "Albinus Willoughby, a Roman Catholique," whose namesake (possibly a son) was later associated with Marshall's brother Robert in Bantam. Early in April the ships reached the Cape Verde

Islands and provisioned at Santiago, or St. Jago as it was commonly called. It was probably while off this island, or on 13th May, when he dined aboard the *Unicorn*, that Marshall became acquainted with Captain Richard Goodlad of the *Rainbow*, whose story of a greyhound is narrated in the Miscellaneous Notes (Chapter XIII, No. 33).

No doubt Marshall took part in the excitement of catching "severall Shirkes" on 21st May, after which date the *Log* records no incident of moment until July 1668, when the *Unicorn* anchored at Mauritius. Here, while supplies of wood and water were taken aboard, the traveller had time to explore the island and to note its natural productions, especially the ebony tree and a now extinct species of rail which he mistook for the dodo. He found the place "very pleasant for wood" with "delicate River runing swiftly and birds singing pleasantly."

It was on the 3rd September, 1668, nearly six months after the *Unicorn* set sail from England, that Marshall had his first glimpse of India and his first whiff of the "spicy breezes" of "Ceylon's Isle." A week later the Coromandel Coast was sighted, and on the 11th the ship anchored in Madras Road. On the following day Marshall was taken ashore in a "Mussoola," and he has a graphic description of the boat and his experiences in her. He also remarks on a curious method by which native servants concluded agreements for service with European masters. He and his companions were "civilly treated" by George Foxcraft, who had been reinstated as Agent before the arrival of the fleet, and Marshall lost no time in taking stock of his surroundings. He thought the Fort "a very

strong place" and the houses of the English and Portuguese inhabitants "hansome," but those of the natives "very mean, being only dirt and thatch." The sight of "houses of entertainment" where English liquor was to be procured at reasonable rates was evidently welcome to him. He only stayed five days at Fort St. George, but he found time to explore Mailapur, with its alleged connection with St. Thomas. He also tasted the water of "St. Thomas well," but expresses no opinion about the "very strange stories reported concerning this [St. Thomas's] mount."

On 17th September, 1668, those factors and writers designed for other factories on the Coromandel Coast, or for Bengal, set sail for Masulipatam, where they arrived eight days later. Here Marshall stayed for the next nine months, but beyond brief, though useful and informing, remarks on the place itself and on the smaller factories dependent on it—Madapollam, the health resort, Verasheroon (Vīravāsaram), with its mango gardens, and Pettipole (Peddapalle), a depôt for cotton cloths—he has little to say of his early experience of life in India. It is probable that he was initiated into his duties as a servant of the Company, and that, pending his transference to Bengal, he filled some post under the fiery William Jearsey, head of the factory at Masulipatam at that date. It is also probable that his visits to the outlying places he describes were made for the purchase of cloth and other commodities. No details, however, are to be found in his *Diary*, nor is there any mention of him in the Company's *Records* at this period.

While at Masulipatam Marshall came in contact with Christopher Hatton, later on Chief of the

factory, but then trading on his own account between Pegu and the Coromandel Coast, and from him he learnt the facts concerning Pegu recorded in the *Notes*. Here also he made the acquaintance of two other free traders, Robert Freeman, on whom he did not make a favourable impression, and George White, who conceived a strong liking for him.

By June 1669 Marshall had had enough of Madras, and had obtained permission to go "to the Bay whither he was designed." With others who had left England with him in the previous year, he sailed from Masulipatam on 5th July, 1669, and reached Balasore Road four days later. This time he was taken over the bar at the river's mouth and up to Balasore in a "Purgo," a very different craft from the "Mussoola" in which he had landed at Madras. In Balasore he remained for seven months, having ample opportunity to explore the "very great Stragling towne" and the adjacent ancient city of Ramunā, but he says nothing of his official occupation or of the Company's servants with whom he was associated. It was eventually decided to employ him elsewhere, and accordingly, on 14th February, 16$\frac{69}{70}$, Marshall set out for Hūglī, then the Company's chief settlement in Bengal. He travelled with Shem Bridges, head of affairs in "the Bay," Edward Reade and Gabriel Townsend, factors of several years' standing. Two ladies were also of the party. The journey occupied three weeks, and was made by land, along the river banks wherever possible. Marshall does not chronicle the events of each day's travel, but only those which specially impressed him, such as the haunt, at Rāmchandrapur, of a tiger reported to appear every

Thursday and salaam to a "Fuckeers Tomb," some graves at Garhpadā which he supposed to be "inchantments," the immense following of the Nawāb of Orissa encountered on the way, a troop of religious mendicants "daubed all over with Turmerick and white stuff," and the fortifications of Narāyangarh strengthened with "Green Bamboes, which make the place impregnable."

Hūglī was reached on 5th March, but though he stayed in the place for over three weeks Marshall only devotes one short paragraph to its description. Foxcraft and the Council at Fort St. George had recommended him for employment at Dacca, the seat of the Mughal Court, but Shem Bridges and his colleagues opposed the recommendation. They wrote: "Wee take notice of your recommending Mr. Marshall to the employment of Dacca, but we must needs say that his naturall modesty, calme disposition and soft though quick utterance of speech, render him not so proper for Durbars (such as that is, which requires audacity to encounter the insolence of the Chubdars [mace-bearers], as well as Villany of the other officers) as others who may in the interiour endowments of judgement and discretion come short of him; therefore, after the departure of the Shipps, wee shall according as the state of our business stands, consider whether Decca or some other place where we shall have occasion to make investments at the best hand may most require his residence, and accordingly dispose him to an employment."

Failing a vacancy at Dacca, it appears that the Council at Fort St. George had indicated another post for Marshall, for, on 16th March, 1670, Robert

Freeman wrote from Masulipatam to Richard Edwards, one of Marshall's fellow voyagers to India in 1668 (*O.C.* 3413), who was then at Kāsimbāzār: "The Agent hath sent a strict order to your Chiefe in the Bay to settle all the Bay Factoryes and hath ordered Mr. Vincent Second of Cassumbazar and Mr. Marshall third, whom I believe you will find a Person proud and Surly enough." George White, however, was of a different opinion. He told Edwards (*O.C.* 3422): "If Mr. John Marshall be settled at your Factory (which was in agitation when I left your parts), let me advise you to entertaine an intimate correspondence with him, whome can assure you upon my owne tryall is a right honest and ingenious person."

In the end Patna, then under the charge of Job Charnock, who was later to immortalise himself as the founder of Calcutta, was selected as Marshall's destination, and he was allotted to the post which another factor, Joseph Hall, had obstinately refused to fill. He set out from Hūglī on 28th March, 1670, in a "Budgeroe" (*bajrā*) manned by fourteen oarsmen and two steersmen. Beyond the crew and necessary servants his only companion seems to have been Gabriel Townsend, with whom he appears to have been antagonistic from the beginning.

In this voyage Marshall in his *Diary* gives the distance "sayled and rowed and pulled" in each stage and narrates each day's occurrence. No striking event marked the journey, but all objects of interest are faithfully noted. Marshall had a fit of tertian ague from 28th March to 7th April, and cured it by means of pills brought from England for the purpose. In spite of his indisposition he appears to have purchased

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piece-goods at Nadiā on 31st March, and to have done some bargaining to obtain them at a reasonable price.

On 8th April the party reached Rājmahal, where they stayed three days, and Marshall made careful examination of the deserted palace of Shāh Shūjā, Nawāb of Bengal, of which he gives an excellent description. The English had no factory at Rājmahal, and the house used by the Company's servants, who transacted business with the officials in charge of the Mughal mint at that place, was of insignificant size, consisting of only "3 little small roomes and 1 little upper room." Marshall, however, did not personally inspect it, since the river was then too shallow to allow of boats approaching it. From Rājmahal to Monghyr the journey occupied a week. Near "Caushdee," not now identifiable, the Colgong rocks attracted his attention, and the hills in the distance elicited frequent remarks. He was also astonished at the "innumerable company of green parrots," so thickly congregated at night that, shooting promiscuously, he brought down five without seeing one. At Monghyr he noted Shāh Shūjā's Palace (which he inspected more closely during a second visit in the following year), the position of the town and its fortified condition. He was now nearing the end of his journey and the going was slow, for on 19th April the boat became so leaky that it was necessary to take her into a "Cola" (creek) and unload and repair her. Progress was further hindered by the strength of the current and "severall whirle winds" which sometimes "were ready to overset the boat."

It was at this time, when nearing Patna, that

relations between Townsend and Marshall became strained to breaking point, and the former " fell from words to Blows."

On 21st April the outskirts of Patna were reached, and the still existing " Jaffercawns Garden," which then had a " Turrett " at each end and a " little white house with a Balcony " in the middle, was passed. A halt was made at the Company's warehouse, used for the storage of their goods, and then the party pressed on to their destination, the Factory House of Singhiyā, on the north bank of the Ganges, some dozen miles beyond Patna. Marshall is tantalisingly silent as to his reception by his chief, Job Charnock, who had already spent twelve years in the Company's service at Patna, and he is equally reticent with regard to his employment, his companions and his impressions generally. There is no doubt, however, that he quickly settled down to work and obtained a grasp of his duties, for, after less than five months' experience, Charnock was able to trust him to undertake a journey to Hūglī in an official capacity.

Of the interim, between April and September 1670, Marshall has little to say. Beyond remarks on the weather and on an eclipse, his *Diary* contains little except an account of an expedition to the Lion Pillar of Bakrā, which he calls " Brins [Bhima's] Club," and about which he repeats the local traditions.

But though Marshall himself is silent as to his doings, certain details regarding him can be gleaned from the Company's *Records*, which happily include a large collection of letters forming the private correspondence of Richard Edwards, who, as previously mentioned, was one of Marshall's fellow-voyagers to India in

1668. Some two hundred of these letters have already been printed in *Notes and Queries* and *Bengal Past and Present*, and Marshall is found among the earliest of the correspondents. On 13th June, 1670, he is mentioned (*O.C.* 3433) by John Vickers, who had sailed from England in the *Blackamore*. Vickers asks Edwards to "send forward" a bill of exchange to Marshall by the first opportunity. Edwards acknowledged the receipt of the letter and the enclosure (*O.C.* 3434), a bill for Rs. 600, "payable four days after Sight to Mr. John Marshall in Shaw Jehaun [Shāh Jahānī] Rupees." He added that not being able to hear of any messenger going to Patna "shortly" he had engaged one expressly "who promises to reach thither in 8 days." At the same time Edwards wrote a personal letter to Patna to the same effect on 20th June (*O.C.* 3435), suggesting that should the "Cossid" (*qāsid*, messenger) fail to carry out his agreement to deliver the packet by the time stated, Marshall should "give him So good a payment as may Serve for an example to others." Marshall duly received the letter, but no copy of his reply exists. On 13th July, Edwards wrote again from Kāsimbāzār (*O.C.* 3445), requesting Marshall to invest the produce of some sword blades sold at Patna for him in "Baroch [Broach] Stuffes for breeches, and the rest (if any remaine) in 1 bottle of the best flower oyle and some Otter [attar of roses] and Chua [*chawwā*]." He adds: "I had not assumed the boldnesse to have given you this trouble, but that I am, by my good friend Mr. White (from [whom] you will now receive a letter) encouraged and engaged to endeavour the Procury of a Correspondency with you, which I must

confesse I Seeke very preposterously, in that it Should rather be my aime by." Here the copy ends abruptly. White's letter has not been preserved, but it is evident that it reached Marshall's hands, for on 27th July, 1670 (*O.C.* 3453), he wrote from "Johnabad" (Jahānābād or Singhiyā) to Edwards acknowledging both his letters, informing him of the sale of his sword-blades, and adding: "I have received a Letter from my brother White and shall be very glad to embrace a strict correspondency with you as I have with him, and to that end (as occasion offers) shall desire to trouble you with what concernes or business I May have at Cassumbuzar, as I shall be ready and glad to serve you." The term "brother" applied to George White the "interloper" shows that he and Marshall had struck up a firm friendship while at Masulipatam. No trace, however, of their correspondence has been found, nor have any letters between Vickers and Marshall been preserved, though there is evidence that such existed (*O.C.* 3461). From notes of his outgoing letters in 1671, we find that Edwards was still in communication with Marshall (*O.C.* 356c), but the latter's replies have not survived.

Marshall had but little leisure to undertake commissions for his friends at this period, for on 13th September, 1670, he superintended the lading of the Company's "Patelloes," or flat-bottomed boats, for the transport of saltpetre, saw that his own "goods" were safely placed on board a *bajrā*, and four days later started to accompany the fleet from Patna to Hūglī. For an account of this journey the pages of his *Diary* must be drawn upon, as no reference to it is found elsewhere. Marshall was

again associated with Gabriel Townsend, and again the differences between them were of constant occurrence.

Robert Elwes, who ranked next below Charnock at Patna, gave the party a send-off, and they then proceeded to Monghyr, "which is reckoned halfe way betwixt Pattana and Rojamaul," but no halt was made here on the outward journey. At Bhāgalpur, on 19th September, Townsend lost his dog, which leapt out of the boat and could not be induced to return. The next day the fleet arrived at Rājmahal, where passes were procured from the Mughal authorities for the remainder of the journey. After leaving Rājmahal, Marshall and Townsend had a passage of arms. The boats were to take a different route between Rājmahal and Hūgli from that followed in the spring of the year, and to touch at Mūrshidābād and Kāsimbāzār. Marshall had given orders to the "Patello" men to follow the main channel of the Ganges so as to avoid grounding, but Townsend was in favour of the narrower channel of "Sutee" river in order to gratify the boatmen, who wanted to sell goods at Kāsimbāzār where they could avoid customs duties. Eventually, Townsend overrode Marshall's orders and allowed the "Chiefe Patello man" to go by the narrow river, with the result that, half an hour later, "one of the Patelloes was runn upon a Sand" and was got off with "great difficulty."

The cause of the friction between Townsend and Marshall was probably due to their position. Townsend had come to India in 1662, and had therefore been six years in the Company's service before Marshall's arrival. Yet they both ranked alike, and appa-

rently had equal authority, and this no doubt was resented by the senior factor.

On 24th September the boats were at Murshidābād, and the next day Marshall had his first sight of Kāsimbāzār, where he was later to be employed, and where he found Edwards and others of his fellow travellers from Europe. His stay was brief, and his departure "unexpectedly sudden" (*O.C.* 3499), for "at Sunrise" on the following morning the boats were under way, and on the evening of 27th September they anchored in Hūglī river under the English Factory House.

While at Kāsimbāzār, Marshall had delivered goods brought from Patna to Edwards and had received a further commission which he was to execute at Hūglī. This time it was two "small" bamboos and a "pallampore" (*palāngposh*) that were despatched by messenger, through Vickers (*O.C.* 3492) on 5th October. A few days later Marshall was hurriedly sent off to Balasore in the *Madras Pinnace*, in order to superintend the lading of the Company's ship, the *Happy Entrance*, and at last he seems to have been released from the unwelcome companionship of Gabriel Townsend Arriving at Balasore on 16th October, he fulfilled his mission, left the vessel on her way to Madras and England on 5th November, and had much trouble in getting back to the Factory. "being driven to leeward of Ballasore river about 3 Course, or 6 miles." Of his doings during the next two months there is no mention in his *Diary*. He probably received a letter from Richard Edwards, dated at Kāsimbāzār 14th October, 1670 (*O.C.* 3499), thanking him for executing his commissions and asking how accounts stood

between them, and he also probably, like his colleagues, employed his leisure in trading on his own account. On 30th December he set out to return to Hūglī by boat, and arrived there on 5th January, 167$\frac{0}{1}$.

While at Hūglī for the third time, Marshall was present, as previously stated, at the wedding of John Billingsley, and there, on the 29th March, he was a witness of a Hook-swinging Festival, about which he gives graphic details in his *Diary*. He remained at Hūglī until May 1671, and on the 3rd of that month he started on his return to Patna, this time by land, and again we are indebted to his careful note-taking for the account of his journey. His cavalcade consisted of eight palanquin-bearers, six other servants and six "Peons" for protection. He was escorted out of the town by Matthias Vincent, who at that date ranked third among the Company's servants in Bengal, and John Bagnold, who had sailed from England with him in the *Unicorn*. On 5th May he passed "Pollossee," the famous Plassey of the following century, and on the next day "travelled thorow aboundance of fields of Mulberry trees," cultivated in the interests of the silk industry of Kāsimbāzār and neighbourhood. Arriving at the English Factory, Marshall accompanied John March, then Chief, to the Dutch Factory, where they supped with the principal officials for the Netherlands East India Company, and Marshall and March made a provisional agreement to return to England overland after three years' service. This pact was not carried out, since March died at Kāsimbāzār three months later.

On the following day, 9th May, 1671, Marshall continued his journey to Patna, halting at "Muxi-

davad" (later known as Murshidābād), where he found "handsome shops" containing "brass ware, Girdles and Sashes" (turbans), etc. The next considerable place met with was Aurangābād, "a very great towne of thatcht houses," and thence the way lay past many a "dry ditch" and stream "which suppose is filled in the raine times by the water which comes from the Hills."

Rājmahal was reached without incident on 13th May. On this, his third visit to the city, Marshall made another close examination of Shāh Shūjā's Palace and Garden, wandered up the "much broken" paved streets, and watched the coining of rupees at the Mughal Mint. Leaving Rājmahal after one day's halt, the party spent the night in a huge *sarāī* at Barājangal, a place estimated to accommodate 800 persons. At this place Marshall had some difficulty with the customs officer, who demanded *bakhshīsh*, but was no match for the Englishman, who promptly appealed direct to the Governor of the town, and produced his passes; whereupon an apology was at once forthcoming, and the cavalcade proceeded on its way.

The Colgong rocks again attracted Marshall's attention on 16th May, and he has further remarks concerning them. On the same day he appears to have bought a young monkey, but records nothing further about the animal. Monghyr was reached on 18th May, and Marshall had much to hear of the happenings since he last passed through that town. It appeared that two Dutchmen, Nikolaas de Graaf, a surgeon, and Corneille van Oosterhoff, his companion, on their way from Hūglī to Patna, stopped at Monghyr, just after Marshall and his saltpetre boats

had left the place in September 1670. They were admitted to see the Palace, and immediately began to make a plan of the building and to note details regarding fortifications. This aroused the suspicion of the Mughal authorities and led to the imprisonment of the Dutchmen, who were placed in irons and were only released after much correspondence and the payment of a heavy fine. In consequence of this incident all Europeans were suspected of spying, and Marshall was "denied sight of the Fort." Indeed, as he passed through the town, his name was demanded by "a great Moor."

On 20th May evidence of the famine from which Patna and the neighbourhood were then suffering was afforded the travellers in the sight of "very great number of dead corps" in the Ganges and on its shores, and on the following day Marshall was begged to purchase a twelve year old Muhammadan lad for half a rupee. At night he heard "a sad noise of poor starved people," and had much ado to save his palanquin from being rifled. On the following day more "dead corps" were encountered, and the price of rice was ascertained to be beyond the means of the starving multitude. When Patna was reached on 23rd May, it was learned that the death-rate for the past four or five months had been 100 per day.

Marshall's return was apparently unexpected, and no preparations had been made to meet him. After vainly awaiting the arrival of the Company's *bajrā*, he set out for Singhiyā early on 25th May. Halfway across the river he encountered a storm in which his boat nearly capsized, and he was fain to stand

"in water to the ancles and in all the raine" for two hours.

After this date, when he was once more settled in the Company's factory at Singhiyā, Marshall seems to have discontinued keeping a regular diary, and only a few disconnected dated entries, from May 1671 to March 1672, are found in his MSS. He has several remarks on the abnormal rains of that period and of the overflowing of the river Gandak in consequence. He notes a bathing festival in August 1671, an eclipse of the moon in September, and the occurrence of the "Hotty" storms at the end of the rainy season, but he is silent regarding his personal doings. His subsequent history is perforce drawn from the Company's *Records*.

With the capable and experienced Job Charnock at the head of affairs at Patna, there was little scope for the exercise of the powers of those under him, and Marshall seems to have recognised this, for in a letter from Charnock to Walter Clavell, then Chief at Hūglī, dated 31st March, 1672 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. vii.), occurs the following passage: "Mr. Marshall understanding of Mr. Bullivant being to be sent up here hath desired leave of us to go downe to you, and hoped he may be capable of doing our Honble. Employers any service at Hugly or any other Factory. So find[ing] his intentions, could do no less then correspond with his desires, so that he is gone towards you to wait in what employment you would please to put him in."

Marshall probably left Patna at the same time as the letter, for on 25th April Charnock wrote again to Clavell (*Ibid.*): "Mr. Marshall is long ere this arrived in Cassambuzar (being he went hence the

beginning of this month), wee hope." As a matter of fact Marshall had reached Kāsimbāzār by 20th April, 1672, where his signature occurs under that of Matthias Vincent (who had succeeded March as Chief at Kāsimbāzār), in an official letter to Walter Clavell. Marshall acted as assistant to Vincent, and in October he was sent to Rājmahal, now a familiar journey to him, in charge of the Company's treasure to be coined at the Mughal Mint (*Ibid.*).

For the next four years Marshall remained at Kāsimbāzār as "Second" of that Factory, occasionally, but rarely, visiting Hūglī and Balasore on the Company's business. His signature appears below that of Matthias Vincent in all official letters, but no special references to him or his proceedings are recorded in the Letter and Consultation books extant. In the private correspondence of Richard Edwards his name occurs, but only in respectful messages from junior servants, except in two instances, November 1673 and June 1674 (*O.C.* 3895 and 3976), when he executed commissions for Edwards, who ranked next below him in the Factory. In 1674, too, George White came to Bengal and wrote to Edwards (11th November, *O.C.* 4035) that he was "in expectation suddenly to Meet my Brother Marshall at Nuddeah," but there is no evidence whether this projected meeting of the two friends actually took place. From the end of 1673, when he had concluded five years' service under the Company, Marshall ranked as a senior merchant, and his salary was increased from £30 to £40 per annum, a pittance, which he, like other servants of the Company, augmented by private trade.

On 23rd August, 1676, Streynsham Master arrived

in Bengal with a Commission to regulate the Company's Factories in that province. A month later he reached Kāsimbāzār, where he held an enquiry into the death, in 1673, of Raghu the *poddār* (or cashkeeper), for which Vincent had been deemed responsible. He also scrutinized the accounts, looked into the methods of investments, and examined statements regarding the quarrels between certain of the Company's servants. In none of these was Marshall directly implicated, but he was required to give his "opinion" and evidence in the various cases (*Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, i. 333, 347, 390, 488). His statements are clear and concise, and contain no trace of rancour or ill-will towards the litigants.

On 17th October, 1676, Marshall, with Edward Littleton, was appointed to take an inventory of the papers of William Puckle, a supervisor who had preceded Master, but with more limited powers, and who had succumbed to a fever the previous day. In a list of "Sundry Mixed Papers" of the deceased, is mentioned one entitled "Mr. John Marshall, his reason against dealing with one merchant (Copy taken since at the Fort)." This paper, which has unfortunately not survived, was evidently drawn up at Puckle's request to enable him to inform the Company whether it was to their "interest to deal with one, or two, or many merchants" (*Ibid.* p. 407).

Among the many reforms and changes introduced by Streynsham Master in Bengal, was the separation of affairs in Hūglī and Balasore, hitherto worked conjointly, and the constituting the latter a separate factory. In consequence, on 1st November, 1676, a Consultation was held at Kāsimbāzār, over which

Master presided (*Ibid.* p. 502), and "The Councell proceeded to make choice of a person to take charge of the Factory at Ballasore as Cheife, and haveing respect to the late settlement made in Ballasore the 11 Aprill last, and to make as little alterations therein as possible might bee, with regard to the Honourable Companyes Interest, Mr. Edward Reade and Mr. John Marshall were in nomination, and they being withdrawne, upon the question, it was voted for Mr. John Marshall, still reserveing to Mr. Reade his right of precedency, as appointed in the Honourable Companyes letter of 23d December, 1672." To this decision Edward Reade took exception on the score of seniority in the service, but his objection was disregarded.

Before leaving Kāsimbāzār, Marshall wrote, on 14th November, to Edwards, who was then at Rājmahal superintending the coining of the Company's treasure (*O.C.* 4237), requesting him to hasten the sending of money which was urgently required. He also gave directions as to the selling of a consignment of tin on his own account, which, if not disposed of at Rājmahal, was to be sent to Patna or Dacca, "but if you cannot do so, then pray send it back again hither to Mr. Vincent, for about 10 dayes hence I shall go hence towards Ballasore where am setled." On 9th December Marshall arrived and took over the duties of his new post. He now ranked "Sixth in the Bay," in point of service, but third in position, and might reasonably hope to become Chief in course of time.

Streynsham Master, who had preceded Marshall to Balasore, remained there until 21st December in

order to enforce the new regulations for the conduct of the Factory. During Master's stay and at his request, Marshall produced "a relation of the manner of the trade of Pattana," drawn up from his personal experience (*Diaries*, ii. 77, 88-90). The "Accompt" is a good example of his style, and is consequently reproduced entire.

ACCOMPT OF PATTANA.

Ballasore, the 16: *December*, 1676.—Worshipfull Sir, According to your Commands I have here given you an accompt of some perticulers relateing to Pattana [Patna] and Singe [Singhiyā] Factoryes.

Pattana lyes in the Latitude of 25: degrees and [blank] minutes inter Gangem, and in Pleasant place. The Honourable Company have noe Factory here, but what hire, nor doth the Cheife usually reside there, by reason the Nabobs Pallace is in the Citty, and his servants and officers are constantly craveing one thing or another, which if not given, though they have not what they desire (*sic*), yett they are not satisfied therewith but creat[e] trouble, and if give[n] what they desire will be very chargeable. Which inconveniency is prevented by Liveing at Singee, which lyes North of Pattana, about ten or twelve miles Extra Gangem, and is Scittuated in a pleasant but not whole[some] place, by reason of it's being most Saltpeter ground, but is convenient by reason thereof, for Saltpeter men live not far from it. Besides, the Honourable Company have a Factory at Nanagur (Nānagarh or Naunagar], which lyes to the east of Pattana (extra Gangem) about four or five miles. There remaynes generally a banian [*baniyā*], or sometimes only Peons, to receive the Peter from the Peter men, which lyes there abouts, to avoid carrying it to Singee, which would be chargeable. And when what there is received in, it's weighed and put aboard the Peter boates there. There is alsoe another place about 15: or 16: miles

to the westward of Singee, whether is brought all the Saltpeter neare that place and put aboard the boates there.

The manner of giveing money to the Petermen and the number of them, being thirty or fourty, is nót necessary to acquaint you with, being it is mentioned in the Pattana Bookes; but those Peter men have others subordinate to them, and the Honourable Companyes Peons are kept with the Peter men to see that when the Peter is made they sell it not to the Dutch, which, notwithstanding the greatest care to prevent it, they sometimes doe. But I think Mr. Charnock is even with them, being they have binn falce and broaken their ingagement first, which was not to buy Peter of our Peter men, as wee were not to buy of theirs. But if the Dutch would be as reall [honest] as the English it would be of great advantage to both, for by the ones Peter men selling Peter to the other party, remaynes are thereby made; alsoe there are great remaynes made by the Nabobs forceing from the Petermen what he pleaseth, whereby they are disinabled to comply with their ingagements, and when they cannot meet with it readyly, or the quantityes desired, he breaketh our store house at Nanagur and forceth it thence. English Cloth will but little vend there, and Lead would sell well, but that it is farmed out by the Nabob to one person to buy it and none elce, and he is not responsible for any considerable quantity, being lately much indebted to the Honourable Company. Tincall [borax] is procured from the Rajayes Country [probably Bihār] from the hills, about six dayes journey N.W. from Pattana, and when brought to Pattana, Oyle is putt to it to preserve it.

English Cloth would vend well towards Casmeer [Kashmīr] and in Cabbull [Kābul], but that there is a sort of Cloth very course and thick made at Lahore and sold at Pattana for about 5: rupees per peice of 11 covids 18 inches long and 1½ covids broad, and Suppose is sould neare Lahore much cheaper.

This is what at present remembred by Your most humble Servant, John Marshall.

No doubt Marshall anticipated a time of leisure to pursue his Oriental studies and to arrange and amplify the notes collected during the previous seven years. But he was not long to enjoy his promotion. In August 1677, after only eight months of office, an epidemic, proving fatal to several of the Company's servants, ravaged Balasore. Clavell, who had accompanied Streynsham Master from Hūglī, and had remained to assist Marshall in the reconstitution of Balasore Factory and in the dispatch and unlading of the ships from Europe, was among the first of the victims. He and his wife, with an infant child, died on 3rd and 4th August, 1677 (*Factory Records*, *Hugli*, vol. vii.). Marshall at once wrote to apprise Matthias Vincent, who automatically succeeded to the Chiefship. At the same time he informed him of the urgent need of assistants, since the sickness was widespread and several of the Company's servants were incapacitated. Again, on 9th, 10th and 23rd August he forwarded important papers and details of his proceedings to the new head of affairs. Vincent replied by instructing Marshall how to act until he could assume the reins of office, but by the time his letter reached Balasore the "raging distemper" there had claimed another victim, and on 12th September the "much lamented newes" of the death of Marshall, "about midnight" on 31st August, 1677, after only five days' illness, was received at Kāsimbāzār (*Ibid.*).

Beyond a statement by Edmund Bugden (the only surviving responsible official), that Marshall's effects had been sealed up, pending Vincent's arrival at Balasore, the records in India contain nothing further regarding him, and the few entries in the *Court*

Minutes are concerned only with the balance of his salary and other payments due to him. The one personal document that remains to be considered is his will (*P.C.C.* 119 King). This had been drawn up while he was serving in Patna, at "Johnabad" (Jahānābād), in March 167½, just before he left to take up his post at Kāsimbāzār, where it was signed in June 1673, being witnessed by Matthias Vincent, Richard Edwards and John Naylor, the Company's silk-dyer. There are bequests to his brothers (Ralph Marshall being named as executor and residuary legatee), to his married sister Abigail Hamers, and to Eliza Atwood of Broomfield, Essex; also to "Goodwife Willowes of Mablethorp, co. Lincoln, in token of gratitude for her setting my thigh which was broken when eight years old." The testator further directed that a tomb should be erected to his memory at the "mouth of Ballasore River" for "a landmark for vessels coming into the Road." There is no evidence of the fulfilment of this bequest. At any rate, two years after Marshall's death steps had not been taken to set up a monument or tomb, for when Streynsham Master paid his second visit of inspection to Bengal in September 1679 he found no "mark for the Barr at Ballasore river mouth" (*Diaries*, ii. 237), and noted that "the monys given some years since by Mr. March and Mr. Marshall to build Tombs over their bodys there buryed, that they might be markes for the Barr, were not like to be soe expended."

To Anglo-Indian scholars the most important clauses in Marshall's will are those bequeathing to "Matthias Vincent Merchant and chief for the Hon:

English East India Company in Cassumbuzar in Bengala East Indies all my Arabian and Persian printed Books, and history of China in folio," and to "Dr. Henry Moore and Mr. John Covell," Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, his "Manuscript concerning India" for "their perusall," after which it was to be returned to his brother Ralph.

The first clause shows Marshall to have been a student of Arabic and Persian. Now, as to the "Manuscript" or manuscripts. Probate of the will was duly granted, on 15th September, 1679, to Ralph Marshall, who, as previously stated, died in London in 1700. Dr. Henry More died in 1687 and Dr. John Covel in 1722. There is no mention in their wills of any writings by John Marshall. Yet, eventually, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, became possessed of four MSS. in Marshall's own hand, which now form part of the Harleian collection, housed in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. Of their history from the time of Marshall's death until they reached the National Library nothing certain has been ascertained. Sir William Foster, Historiographer at the India Office, however, drew attention to an entry in the *Twelfth Report* of the *Historical MSS. Commission* (Sessional Vol. 46 of 1890-91, Appendix IX, p. 163), dealing with the Gurney MSS. (No. XXXIV, Miscellanea), which runs as follows: "1676, July 24.--" Moodoo Soodun's translation of the Saun-Bead [the epitome or sum of the Four Beads] into Hindostana language out of the Sinscreet, and translated from him into English by John Marshall." Twenty-six leaves. A letter from W. Salmon to Dr. Covel is attached, with

which he returns the MS. that had been kept "for my lord Duke's inspection." This shows that one at least of Marshall's writings was submitted to Dr. Covel, who returned to England from Constantinople about the time that Marshall's will was proved, and if one, why not the rest? Also, from the fact that Covel's MSS. and books were sold to the Earl of Oxford, and eventually found their way to the British Museum, there is reason to surmise that Marshall's writings were not returned to his brother Ralph and were included with Covel's remains. A prolonged examination of the reverend Doctor's journals and correspondence (Add. MSS. 22910-14) may yet throw further light on his association with our author and his works.

It has not been found possible to see the translation by Marshall, which has unaccountably found its way among the Gurney MSS., but those of his writings in the Harleian collection are accessible and will now be described.

First in order of date come Harl. MSS. 4254 and 4255, reproduced *in extenso* in this volume, but with alterations in form for the convenience of students, as stated in the Preface. The *Diaries* of journeys between Balasore and Hūglī and Hūglī and Patna occupy the major portion of the folios. The remainder of the MSS. consists of notes of information on all sorts of subjects, gathered from hearsay or from observation, and now grouped under their several headings and separated into chapters. Since each of these has its own introductory note, there is no need here to dilate further on their contents.

The other two MSS. in Marshall's hand preserved

in the British Museum, treat, like that among the Gurney MSS., of Hindu religion.

Harl. MS. 4253 has as its first title : " A familiar and free Dialogue betwixt John Marshall and Muddoosoodun Rauree Bramin [Madhusūdana Rādha, Brāhman] at Cassumbuzar in Bengal[l] in East India begun the 18th March 167$\frac{4}{5}$." It consists of 40 folios. The " familiar and free Dialogue " occupies seven folios and deals, in a series of questions and answers, with the creation of the world and mankind from the standpoint of Hinduism. On fol. 9 is a fresh title : " Account of the Hindoo book called Srebaugbutporam." It is dated 25th June, 1675, and consists of a rough translation of a portion of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, from the version supplied by the Brāhman named above.

The translation is resumed in Harleian MS. 4256, which consists of 230 folios, the first 16 being a copy of folios 9 to 40 of Harleian MS. 4253. Folios 17 to 48 continue the translation, and were ended 14th July, 1674, so it appears that Marshall began his task while in Kāsimbāzār in 1674 and revised it the following year, as all the dates in this MS., except the last, are earlier than 25th June, 1675, which appears at the beginning of the work in Harleian MS. 4253. Folios 49 to 51 have an index of names. After that the translation is carried on in sections headed " Bramins Poran, Liber B (22nd March 167$\frac{4}{5}$), Liber C (30th April, 1675), Liber D," ending (fol. 190) with the words, " Hither writ 160 pages and left 63 to writ of that book called Serebaugabut Poran. Here ended le 18th June 1675." Then follows the final section (fols. 191 to 230), " Bramins Poran

Liber E." The last date that is given, some distance from the end, is 29th May, 1677, showing that Marshall continued his study of Hindu religion and Oriental languages after his transference from Kāsimbāzār to Balasore. There is also a late copy (originally Additional MS. 7038, but now in the Oriental MSS. Department of the British Museum, catalogued 17 A K) of part of Harleian MS. 4256, beginning with the portion dated 30th April, 1675, and entitled "The Sri Bhagavat Puran—Translated into English by John Marshall from a Persian Version of the Sanskrit original."

The fact that, after only five years' residence in India, with little leisure from his commercial duties, Marshall should have attempted such a task as a translation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṅa*, entitles him to a place among Oriental students, even though at the present time his work has little scientific value. His efforts may or may not have met with the recognition they deserved, for no contemporary criticisms have come down to us. The earliest mention, so far unearthed, is in 1872, when Professor E. B. Cowell, in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society on 17th April of that year, remarked (*Transactions*, i. 8): "If Marshall had published his researches in 1680 they would have inaugurated an era in European knowledge of India, being in advance of anything which appeared before 1800" (*Christ's College Biographical Register*, i. 592).

The only other allusion to Marshall's writings discoverable, prior to the end of the last century, is in J. C. Marsham's *History of Bengal*, published in 1887, where Marshall is described (p. 50) as "probably

the first Englishman who ever made himself master of the classical language [? Persian] of the country [India]."

Before the end of another decade Marshall's MSS. had attracted the attention of C. R. Wilson, as stated in the Preface, and since that time his "Notes and Observations" have been of the greatest assistance to students of seventeenth century Anglo-Indian history.

In addition to his MSS., two letters in Marshall's own hand have been preserved. They are included in the private correspondence of Richard Edwards (*O.C.* 3453 and 4237, *India Office Records*), are dated 27th July, 1670, and 14th July, 1676, and have already been mentioned in their due place in the biographical sketch given above.

On the two MSS. reproduced in this volume a few additional remarks may not be out of place. In the *Diaries* the task of tracing Marshall's routes has been greatly hampered owing to the lack of contemporary maps of the district traversed and to the very great changes in the waterways since his day. Rennell, the "father of Indian geography," did not begin his surveys until a century after Marshall's time, when many alterations in the bed of the rivers had already taken place. Dr. Buchanan, travelling over part of Marshall's route some forty years after Rennell, found it, in many cases, impossible to locate places marked by the great surveyor, and Col. W M. Coldstream, lecturing before the Royal Society of Arts in January 1926, remarked: "It is interesting to see how greatly the waterways of Bengal have changed during the last 120 years. So much is this the case that I found it difficult to locate this extract [from Rennell's

Bengal Atlas]. A few of the village sites and names have remained, and one can trace the beds of some of the rivers as they existed when Rennell surveyed them, but there is hardly a watercourse that now runs even approximately in its old channel." In view of the above statement, it will be easily understood that no great degree of accuracy can be claimed for the position of the places in the accompanying map of Marshall's routes. In fact, without the ungrudging assistance of one familiar with the district, the identification of many of the names would have been impossible. As it is, although the utmost care has been taken with the locations, a certain amount of guesswork has been unavoidable.

Like his contemporary, Thomas Bowrey, and his predecessor, Peter Mundy (whose MSS. have been printed by the Hakluyt Society), Marshall was a keen observer, ever on the alert to acquire information. Like them, too, he considered no subject too trivial for remark, and while specialising on religion and astrology, he was equally interested in the habits and customs of the people among whom his lot was cast, the strange birds and beasts and fishes that he encountered, the natural productions such as "he" and "she" bamboos, and the stories told him of the countries beyond the high mountains visible from the neighbourhood of Patna. Thus, his *Notes*, when arranged in some kind of order, afford valuable details on all kinds of subjects, as will be seen from the grouping of the chapters.

In some cases Marshall's information, jotted down in haphazard fashion, is specially important. For instance, in Chapter II, under date 1st March,

16$\frac{69}{70}$, he gives us the actual boundary between Orissa and Bengal at that date. In 1671, on his return journey to Patna (Chapter IV), he tells the true story of the imprisonment of the two Dutchmen at Monghyr in the previous year, and how they only succeeded in regaining their freedom by the payment of a heavy fine, a fact suppressed by De Graaf when narrating the occurrence for Dutch readers. Then there are interesting remarks on the varying extent of the *kos* in the different districts through which he journeyed, on the varieties of pice current in Patna and its neighbourhood (Chapter IV, note 64), and on coins, weights and measures in general.

Since we know that Marshall began his study of Hindu religion and philosophy as soon as he reached Patna, or perhaps earlier, it is not surprising that his remarks on this head (Chapter VIII) are very full. At the same time they are often vague, owing to his naturally imperfect grasp of the meaning of his informants. On astrological matters he was an enthusiastic enquirer, and his zeal in recording all he heard on the subject is truly amazing. Mr. Kaye has given his considered opinion on the worth of those *Notes*, and his exhaustive criticisms leave nothing further to be said on this section (Chapter IX).

In medicine, as practised in the East in his day, Marshall also showed himself keenly interested, and he personally tested some of the strange remedies which were passed on to him. His remarks on this science (Chapter X) show his usual acuteness, though in some cases it has proved difficult, if not impossible, to identify the disease he describes or the ingredients of the prescription for its cure.

The folklore of the country would naturally prove attractive to one who was bestowing much thought on its philosophy, and here again (Chapter XI) Marshall's *Notes* are very full and entertaining. Besides descriptions of the famous "magic squares," on which much has been written, there are comments on many less known charms and tricks, as well as various beliefs that have not found their way into the ordinary text books on the subject. The remarks on Muhammadan laws and religion were obtained from a Musalmān at Patna, when Marshall's own knowledge of the vernacular must have been very slight, and in consequence contain many misconceptions, but, as elsewhere, his errors are counterbalanced by statements of value regarding customs prevalent in his day.

Of our author's temperament and character much can be learned from his *Diaries*. He was fearless, stern and uncompromising in the discharge of his duties, refusing to be either intimidated or blackmailed. When threatened by a customs officer (12th May, 1671) with the stoppage of the Company's goods unless a bribe was forthcoming, "Therefore I would give him nothing because I would breake that custom of extortion." Again, three days later, when an underling tried the same game on him, he promptly appealed to the chief official in charge of the place and received an immediate apology. He was as jealous of his own position as of that of his masters, and the acrimony which marked his relations with Gabriel Townsend was probably, as previously remarked, due to the fact that Townsend, as a factor of longer standing, treated the newcomer with a lack of respect. A stickler for etiquette, Marshall's vexation

must have been great when, on his return to Patna in May 1671, he found that no arrangements had been made for his reception. The non-appearance of the Company's "Budgera" to take him to Singhiyā, "having writ for it," would further have increased his anger, and it was little wonder that his wrath descended on the incompetent boatmen who manned the uncomfortable craft in which he was eventually compelled to make the journey to the English factory house.

On the other hand, Marshall's remarks on the victims of the famine of which he was an eye-witness show him to have been tender-hearted and really troubled by the sufferings he was unable to mitigate. That in the ordinary way he was of a quiet and peaceable disposition is evinced by the way in which he escaped embroiling himself in the various disputes raging in Kāsimbāzār when he was transferred thither from Patna in 1673. At the same time he incurred no odium from the belligerents. Neither the venomous-tongued Joseph Hall nor the quarrelsome John Smith has a word in his disfavour. Freeman alone found him "surly," such "surliness" being probably only the awkwardness of a shy man as a newcomer on foreign soil. Had Marshall really been of a morose, overbearing disposition, he would not so easily have obtained material for his *Notes*. Among his informants were folk of different position and nationality, Chiefs of factories (Charnock, Vincent and the Dutch "Directores"), independent free traders (Hatton and White), Hindu doctors and teachers, Muhammadan "vakeels" (agents) and Armenian traders. No intolerant churlish individual

could have commanded so wide a circle of acquaintances, if not friends, for there is no doubt that the warm affection felt for him by George White was also shared by others. Marshall's "naturall modesty," which Shem Bridges found unsuitable for maintaining his position in Oriental Courts, also precluded him from thrusting himself before the notice of his employers. He seems to have been content to fulfil his duties conscientiously and to await what promotion was justly due to him. In fact, the impression gathered from his writings and from the remarks of his friends and acquaintances is that of a true English gentleman.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS OF EAST INDIA

Memorandums concerning India from September 11*th* 1668 *to January* 1*st* 167½

Per J. M. M[APSHALL]

Liber A [*Harl. MS* 4254]

Liber B [*Harl. MS.* 4255]

I

DIARY OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *UNICORN* TO INDIA

166$\frac{7}{8}$-1669

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 28a.

1 *January* 166$\frac{7}{8}$, *Wednesday*. I writ to my brother Ralph Marshall[1] That I had a great desire to travell.

4 *January*. My brother desired my Lord Cravens[2] assistance to have mee admitted into the East India Company's service in India, who took my brother along with him in his coach, and that morning went to Sir Andrew Riccards[3] house, where they found him in bed; so my Lord recommended mee to him (being then Governor of the Comittees) to be imployed in the Companys service in India, which Sir Andrew Riccard told him hee should have what assistance hee could afford him.

After my Lord went to Sir William Riders house, where they not finding him at home (hee being Deputy Governor),[4] my Lord bid my brother go to him and speak from him what hee thought convenient, which hee did.

5 *January*. My Lord Craven met with Lord Berkley at the Parliament house and desired him to assist mee into the Companys service, which hee promised hee would do, being one of the Committee.[5]

I received a letter at 11h. morning from my brother Ralph Marshall, dated 4th current, wherein hee advised mee hee thought hee should procure mee an employment in [the] Company's service, and therefore would have mee come up to London (I being then at Bromfield near Chelmesford in Essex)[6] assoone as could conveniently, but [to] say nothing of [the] business till knew certainly how it would bee.

6 *January*. Beeing Munday and Court day, Sir Andrew Riccard mentioned mee to the Committee, and my brother promissed them to have mee there upon the next Court day.[7]

7 *January*. I came from Bromfield at 7h. morning and got to London at 4 afternoon.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 25a-29.

8 *January* 1667/8, *Wednesday*. My brother and I about 9h. went to East India house, where stayed till Sir Andrew Riccard and Sir William Rider were come, who told my brother they would send for mee in before the Committee when it was full. About 11h. they sent for mee in, and Sir Andrew Riccard asked mee how old I was, who answered 25 yeares, also how I had been educated, who told him, also why I left Cambridge, who told him I was not capable of preferment in the Colledge in which I was, by reason Dr. More my Countreyman [was there], and by the Statutes of the Colledge 2 men of one County could not at the same time be fellow[s] of that Colledge.[8] They asked mee severall other questions and then bid mee withdraw.

So I went into the Hall, where immediately my Lord George Berkley came from the Committee to my brother and mee into the Hall and asked me severall Questions, also what part of India I desired

to go too, saying the South seas [9] might be as advantagious, but was more unhealthfull; therefore hee thought twould bee better to go to the Coast.[10] So I referred my selfe to him. He told me that that day he had some business at Court, but came thither merely upon my Account, having promissed my Lord Craven his assistance, hee being a person hee so much honoured. Hee staid nigh halfe an houre with mee and then went in againe, immediately after which I was sent for before the Committee, who told mee they had admitted mee into their service and hoped I would answer the character given of mee. This was about 11½h. morning.[11]

9 *January.* Returned againe to Bromfield where came at Sunset.

14 *January.* At 7h. morning left Bromfield, having taken my leave of all my friends there.

20 *January.* My brother Ralph Marshall and Mr. Robert Laws were bound in a Bond of 1000 *li.* for my trust, and I sealed to my Indentures and signed to a Bond of 1000 *li.* to perform the Covenants of them; after made choice of my Commander and ship would go in.

20, 21, 22 *January.* I dispatched my business and bought all my goods, &ca.

23 *January.* I shiped my goods on board [the] *Unicorne* at Gravesend,[12] my brothers Ralph, Robert and Thomas Marshall,[13] and Mr. Ralph Lampton going along with mee on board; and at night we returned back again to London.

27 *January.* About break of day I took my leave of my friends and came from London, my brother[s] Ralph and Thomas coming along with mee. Wee

took water at the Stairs against the Maypole,[14] and so shot the bridge, and rowed to Tower stays,[15] from whence the Gravesend barge was lately gone; so I hired roome in another boat and rowed to Gravesend.

30 *January*. About 10h. morning set saile from Gravesend and came that night to an anchor within a League of Leigh.[16]

31 *January*. Sayled one League below the Buoy in the North.[17]

1 *February* 166$\frac{7}{8}$. Sayled into the Downes, where anchored at 4h. evening.

4 *February*. I went on shore at Deal, having first agreed with the Captain to bee of his Mess.[18] I bought wine and strong waters.

5 *February*. I sent my things and goods on board.

9 *February* 166$\frac{7}{8}$, *Sunday*. At 3h. afternoon came from Deale and got on board about 5.

18 *February*. At night our ship in great dainger of being drove upon the *Loyall Merchant*.[19]

20 *February*. About 11h. or 12h. night in great dainger of being drove upon the Portland [Bill].

29 *February*. A Violent Storme, when some Vessell[s] cut their Masts by board for fear.[20]

1 *March* 166$\frac{7}{8}$, *Sunday*. I entred into the Captains Mess.

3 *March*. Faircliff[21] being informed I was a private passenger, came on board the *Unicorne* and enquired of mee, who shewed him my Indentures, which satisfied him.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 29-31.

10 *March* 166$\frac{7}{8}$, *Tuesday*. At 9$\frac{1}{4}$h. in the morning we heaved anchor, and the wind being N.N.W. wee set saile about 10h.[22]

14 *March, Saturday.* About ½ houre past 6h. night lost sight of England.

MADERA

26 *March* 1668, *Thursday.* At 3h. after noon arrived in Funchall, a Port towne in the Island Madera, where are plenty of Lemons, I being profered 500 for 3s. 9d., also plenty of wine, which is sold in their Taverns for 3d. per quart. It is a red wine and very strong and drinks like Sherry. I bought one Butt of it which cost me 30 Dollars.

The Island is very high and all Rockey. The towne is paved with sharpe cobble stones; their houses but 2 stories high. There is excellent Sweetmeats. I was in their Cathedrall, Colledge, Convent and Nunnery. I bought some Sweetmeats in the Nunnery.[23] The water is excellent good. The Island is governed by Portuguees.[24] Here are also many Guiny [West African] Slaves. I lay one night at Mr. Albinus Willowbies house.[25] Here is plenty of Sugar. Their horses here are very small.

When I was in the Nunnery, we prevailed with an old Fryer there to have the great door opened, whether about 40 or 50 of the Nunns came to us with the Abbess, who talked with us about an houre. They uncovered their faces and came neare to us, the doore being open. Wee stood within a yard of them, nothing being betwixt us but air. The roome they and wee were in was a hall or long roome. I see not about 5 or 6 women that were handsome, the rest being pale coloured and looked as if they had the Greene sickness.[26]

The Nunnery is a handsome place and hath in it a

little but handsome Chappell. The Cathedrall is not very large, but very neate; the Colledge not very handsome, is cloystered, and above hath a long Gallery, on each side of which are the Students Lodgings, which are so little that besides the place the bed stands in, there is not roome for above 4 or 5 persons to sit in: but they are kept very neatly and hung about with Oranges &ca. [and other] fruits.

The Towne is towards the Sea walled,[27] and on the other side are very high hills. Sheepe and henns are dearer here than in England. In the Island is made yearly 16000 Buts of Wine, halfe of which is transported and the rest drunk upon the Island. The King of Portugall hath every 16th Butt for Custome.[28]

27 *March*. At 9h. night came from ashore and that night set saile.

SANTIAGO

8 *Aprill* 1668, *Wednesday*. At 1h. afternoon arrived in the Port of Prayo in the Island of Santiago, which belongs to the King of Portugall.[29] In that place one Senior More was Captaine, but the Governor of the Island liveth about 6 miles from hence,[30] on the other side of the Island. The Island contains 50,000 persons, whereof 35,000 are Guiny Cofferies,[31] and 15,000 Portugees, by whom the Negroes are governed, being their slaves.

Here are great plenty of Oranges which are large and very sweet, aboundance of Limes, and many Leamons, all which are very cheape, which at our first going a shore might be bought for little peeces of old ribbin; also good store of Henns and an aboundance of goats, which might be bout for old ribbin, a knife

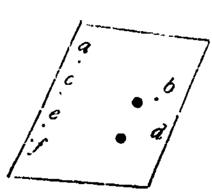
or pair of sizars,[32] 1 Goat for about 1 yard old rotten 3d. black ribbin.[33] Here many Monkeys, Plantons [plantains], Baboons, Cokernuts, also severall hoggs and cowes,[34] 4 of which Cowes wee carryed away with us, and many goats, Oranges and Lemons, &ca.

The Captain was a grave and very civill person, gave us wine and sweetmeats and told us wee should have what the Island afforded,[35] but the Negroes are very rogues who will kill any man for his purse in the night if they have an opportunity. They are very uncivill Villains, which the Captain bid us have a great care of.[36]

27 *April.* Our Coopers Mate going to open a cask of water (which had beene filled at Santiago with that water and had before had water in it), having a Candle in his hand when [he] opened the Cask, the aire sucking in the flame of the candle into the Cask and burnt his hand, the water burning, which he was forced to quench by siting upon the hole. His fingers betwixt each other were much burnt.

2 & 3 *May* 1668. I laid in the Sunn some Silk worme egs and in 4 or 5 houres time the Silk wormes came out, but with the wind were blown away.

The Crosiers are starrs in the [*sic*, ? this] Forme



having a black cloud betwixt *c* and *d*, or a place void of Starrs. When *e* and *d* are of equall distance from the horizon, then is *d* in the Meridian and 28d higher than the South Pole.[37]

29 *June* 1668. When not far from Cape Bon-esperance, as wee thought, wee heaved the 2 Leads tied together, the one weighed 19 *ll.*, the other 8 *ll.* both 27 *ll.*, and they were in sinking one hundred fathom one minute of an houre and in sinking 200 fathom 3½ minutes of an houre, as I observed.[38]

MAURITIUS ISLAND [39]

The Island of Mauritius is a very high Island and is above 30 miles long, and 12 or 14 miles broad.[40] In the Island is great plenty of Ebbony, which is esteemed the best Ebbony in the world. The tree is high and straight, having a bark something like maple, and leaves like Bay leaves, and have 3 or 4 pricks (which are not sharp) upon the leaves. If the tree be very thick, somtimes the 3d part or the 3d of the whole will be black (*vizt.*) that in the middle, and that at the out side is of yellowish colour; but if the tree be not very thick, then scarce any black is in the middle. A thick tree I call such as are 1½ yards about, or 1 yard.[41] There are great numbers of box trees, but not large, nor is the box very yellow, nor hard, but a kind of wild box.[42]

The Island is not inhabited by any men, but upon it are plenty of goates, which are very good.[43] The Seamen will ordinarily run after them and take them by wearying of them; plenty of Swine which are large, but will runn very swiftly, and the bores will sometimes seize upon a Man, as one did upon a very lustie Seaman belonging to our ship, who with a Musket hee had upon his shoulder, which was charged, which hee had not time to discharge, the Bore runing upon him so suddenly; so hee struck him with the

But end of it, and dazled him, having hit him upon one of his tosses [tusks], which hee broak, about an inch of it running into the stock of the Musket, which split the stock ; the boar went away.

Here are many geese, the halfe of their wings, towards the end, are black and the other halfe white. They are not large, but fat and good ;[44] plenty of Ducks. Here are Cowes and Bulls, as have beene informed, but see none ; aboundance of Turtle doves, Parrots ;[45] Munkees very many,[46] one of which seized upon a Bull dog wee had, and tore out one of his eyes and blinded him for present [for the time] of the other, and tore his throat, so that had not the Seamen hampered him with ropes, tis thought hee would presently [quickly] have killed the dog. The dog was runing after a Bore when the Monkey leaped out of a bush and fought with him.

The Monkey wee carried on board, but the ropes hee was tied with had eaten into his body, which caused him to stink so violently, that wee threw him overboard, having kept him about a fortnight. This was the largest Monkey I ever see, and had 4 exceeding long and sharpe teeth. Here aboundance of Batts very large, being about 1 yard betwixt the ends of their wings when they fly ;[47] here plenty of Sand turtles.[48]

This Island is very full of wood, yet is most rocky. Wee had 2 men lost themselves in it. One of them did not find the Tent till the 2d day at night, and the other the 3d day at night, in which time they were forced to kill turtle doves and eat. The Turtle doves will suffer a man to come within a yard of them. Here are also great plenty of Dodos, or red hens, which

are larger a little than our English henns, have long beakes and no, or very little, Tayles. Their fethers are like downe, and their wings so little that is not able to support their bodies ; but they have long leggs and will runn very fast, that a man shall not take them, they will turne so about the trees. They are good meate when roasted, tasting somthing like pig, and their skin like pig skin when roosted, being hard.[49] I see upon the Island 2 birds by a nest upon a very high tree. They were much biger than geese as seemed to mee, had long beakes and nests [*sic*, ? necks), and were of a whitish colour.[50]

Here at our first going on shore into Turtle bay[51] were vast numbers of Sea turtle in a creek, which at the noise of our boat &ca. went all away, which wee might easily have prevented, had wee suspected they would have gone away. In that Creek is great plenty of Fish and oysters ; Mullets the best I ever see. The Oysters grow upon sides of rocks in clusters,[52] and are hard to be opened. Upon the Island are aboundance of the neatest shells I ever see and also stones. The water is exceeding good and the air esteemd as holsome as the world affords.

The place is very pleasant for wood and now and then plains and delicate River runing swiftly, and birds singing pleasantly of most sorts, which having such various notes and being such vast numbers of them, make excellent Musick. Tis said that at some times of the yeare, (*vizt.*) January and February, great quantity of Ambergrees is cast upon the Island, which the hogs eat. About 25 years since the Dutch lived here for 2 or 3 years.[53] There are birds which they call Boobos which sometimes light upon ships,

are as big as a Kite, have a long bill and are of a reddish greene and some part white colour; when lighted cannot raise them selves againe upon their wing, but put in to the water they can.[54]

LAUS DEO SEPTEMBER 3D ANNO DOMINI 1668.
AN ACCOUNT OF SOME PARTS OF INDIA AND WHAT REMARKABLE THEREIN TAKEN BY ME J. M.

3 *September* 1668. At 6 Clock morning saw the Island Zeilon, which lies the South part in Lattitude 6d. 14′ North and East from Mauritius Island 24d. 5′.[55] This Island is reported to be as fruitfull, esp[eci]ally for spices, as any is in the world. Wee sayled very neare it for about foure dayes. In the mornings a man might planly perceive the smell of Sinmon [cinnamon] &ca. coming with the morning brieze. The Island for the most part is high land by the Sea side or within sight thereof.

11*th September*. At break of day saw the maine continent of the Coast of Coromandell, being very low land, and at 4 evening arrived in Madraspatam Road.[56]

FORT ST. GEORGE

12 *September*. At 9 clock went on shore in a boat called a Mussoola. A Mussoola is a boat about 8 foot deepe, 7 foot broad, and 20 foot long being sowed together with ropes made of that which grows upon Cokernuts,[57] being called Keyr.[58] There is noe iron nor pitch nor tarr about it: it is rowed by 8 or 10 blacks.

Our ship rid from the land about 1 mile. When wee came about ¼ mile from the shore there was a great barr which is daingerous to goe over, being generally a great sea over it. When wee came there,

the boatmen leaped the most of them out of the boat, and held by the sides thereof to keepe her from over seting. All the time wee were goeing a shore the boatmen sung as it is their custome, wee having given them for carrying us, being 6 of us, 2 Ryalls ℥.[59]

When wee came within 40 or 50 yards from the shore the Boatmen carryed us on shore on their shoulders, where were aboundance of the Natives to see us come on shore, and some to get Masters ; who came to us profering us limes &ca., the acceptance of which was sufficient for the acceptance of their service.[60]

In the road wee see aboundance of catamarans, which are 3 or 4 great pieces of timber bined [? bound] together with ropes, and the longest peeces being at the out sides, make the ends to be narrower than the middle. Upon this sits a man, who with an ore [oar] of about 1 yard long, with both his hands hee rowes first on one side then on the other, and will goe 2 or 3 leagues from shore a fishing.[61]

About 10 clock wee arrived on shore, being close by Fort St. George, and went into it, where were civilly treated by George Foxcroft, Agent and Governor,[62] and other Factors. The Fort is a very strong place, being fortified with [blank] Gunnes and having [blank] souldiers. All the towne of Madraspatam is Governed thereby. Here are very many Portugees live ; here are severall hansome houses of the English and Portuguees, but the Moores and Hindoos houses are very mean, being only dirt and thatch.[63] Here are severall houses of entertainment which sell Punch, Wine, English beer and Mum ; Sack at 9 Fanams, English beer at 3 Fanams, and Mum at 4 Fanams per bottle.[64]

MELIAPORE

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 2-3 (reverse).

14 *September*. About 3 miles from this towne of Madraspotam South I went to a Towne formerly called Meliapore [Mailapur], now St. Thoma, which was formerly maintained and kept by the Portugees, who very lately (growing poore could not maintaine the Fort) delivered it up to the Moores [Muhammadans] who now possess it,[65] which is a very fine and pleasant place, and reported to be the place where St. Thomas the Apostle lived. About 1 mile from this place is a little mount in which when I was there lived 2 Portugees Padrees. Upon the Mount is a house under which is a Vault into which tis reported St. Thomas fled when persecuted by his enemies. The vault is dark, haveing one little window out of which St. Thomas went to escape from his enemies, but either there or very neare it was killed. About 2 mile further from this place is a High Mount, to ascend which are 100 stone steps goeing winding a little, and on each side of said steps are a brick wall about 1½ yard high. At the top of [the] Mount is a Portugees Church which is very neat but little. The Church yard is about 500 or 600 yards about and is the whole top of the Mount. Here St. Thomas is said likewise to inhabit. This is called St. Thomas' Great Mount as the other Mount is called St. Thomas little mount, by the sides of which is a well which is never fuller at one time then at an other, looking muddily; but I tasted the water which was good. This was St. Thomas well which hee drunk out of. Here are very strange stories reported concerning this Mount.[66]

METCHLEPATAM

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 3 (reverse).

17 *September*. Came from Fort St. George and arrived at Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] 25th ditto.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 30a.

20 *September* 1668, *Sunday*. Being on ship board betwixt Fort St. George and Metchlepatam, about ½ an houre after the Sunn had set, being exceeding cleare, wee see a cloud bright like the Sunn and shape like it, to set like the Sunn, so that had wee not seene the Sunn set before, wee had all thought it had beene the Sunn, but when was almost set, it seemed somthing longer.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 3-4 (reverse).

[25 *September*]. Arrived at Metchlepatam and anchored about 2½ miles from shore. Here are very large and strong boats which will carry 20 or 30 Tunns a peece.[67] Metchlepatam is a large towne scituate in a low and Quagmire place, but is very compact, having in it severall high and handsome large houses, but all made of wood, except few.[68] The English Factory is scituate about the middle of the towne. In winter time this towne for about 6 months is invironed round with water, having a Bridge of wood about 6 or 7 yards broad and 1 mile long to pass out of the towne with.[69] In this Towne live a great many Persians. This is a very good place for Cloth, as Salampoores, Butteelas, &ca.[70]

MADAPOLLAM

About 40 or 45 miles from this place [Masulipatam] North East is Madapollam where the Company have a very stately house [71] scituate by a very broad River, being about ¾ mile broad and lying about 6 miles from

the Sea; the River is Navigable and called Nassipore River.[72] This Madapollam is a very pleasant place having many Gardens and Trees near it, and on the other side the River is very good hunting for hogs, Jackalls &ca. and good shooting.[73]

VERASHAROON

About 6 miles from Madapollam lies Verasharoone, where the Company have an old and decayed factory, but formerly in great request for cloth, and as yet all the Cloth at Metchlepotam and there abouts is brought from hence or neare this place.[74] This is a very pleasant place, haveing very many Gardens with Mangoes &ca. very near it, and the English have 2 Gardens, the one ½ mile from the English Factory, which is a very large Garden and thick with Mangoe trees, the other ⅛ of mile from [the] Factory, which is very handsome, hath many Pine apples or Ananas's and severall other fruit in it.[75] This place is very good for fowling, being very plentifull with Ducks, Geeze, ? Concorevell Mocobottles,[76] &ca.

PETTIPOLE

Pettipole is South from Metchlepatam about 45 or 50 mile. It is reported a very pleasant place, where the English have a Factory, at which they provide Saltpetre, none having liberty to buy any besides.[77] Here are the best Chints and Palampoos made.[78] Here is good fowling, and good hunting for Antilopes, Deer of alsorts, wild horses, and severall others.

$\frac{18}{30}$ *April* 1669. I observed an Eclipse of the Sun when I was at Metchlepatam upon the 20 Aprill 1669 when the Sun was eclipsed to the Semi diamiter at 10h. 10m. morning.[79]

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

1. For an account of John Marshall's family see Introduction.

2. William, eldest son of Sir William Craven, created Viscount Craven of Uffington and Earl of Craven in 1664. He died in 1697.

3. Sir Andrew Riccard was Deputy Governor of the Company, 1653-1658, Governor 1660-1662 and 1666-1672

4. Sir William Rider was Deputy Governor in 1662 and again in 1667-8, his term of office ending on the 13th April of the latter year.

5. George, 9th Lord and 1st Earl of Berkeley (cr. 1679 Viscount Dursley and Earl of Berkeley) was a member of the Court of Committees of the E.I.Co 1664-1674, and Governor of the Company, 1674-1696. He died in 1698.

6. Broomfield (then a village), 2 miles north of Chelmsford, is now a continuation of the city.

7. Extract from the proceedings of a Court of Committees, 6th January, 1667-8 (*Court Book*, xxvi. 176): "Lord Cravens desires. The Governour acquainted the Court with the desires of the Lord Craven for entertayning one Mr. Marshall who is fully qualified for their service, whereupon the Court appointed the said person to be with them on Wednesday."

8. Dr. Henry More, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, to whom Marshall desired that his MSS. "concerning India" might be sent for inspection, was born at Grantham, 12th October, 1614, and died 1st September, 1687.

The old statutes of Christ's College, which bear date 1506, were in force until 1860. They enacted that of the twelve Fellows, six were always to belong to the nine counties north of the Trent, and that no more than one might belong to any one county on either side of the Trent. Since Marshall was born at Theddlethorpe, Lincolnshire, and was More's junior in standing, he was ineligible for a Fellowship. See Peile, *Biog. Reg. of Christ's Coll., Cambridge*, pp. 414, 592; Christ's Coll. (*Camb. Col. Histories*), p. 14.

9. The Company's settlements on Celebes, Java, Sumatra and Further India were known as the South Seas. At this date the following factories were in existence: Macassar in Celebes, the news of the capture of which by the Dutch in July 1667 had not yet reached England; Bantam in Java; Ayuthia in Siam; Jambi in Sumatra.

10. By "the Coast" was meant Fort St. George, Madras and the dependent factories on the Coromandel Coast—Masulipatam, Madapollam, Petipolee and Verasheroon.

11. Court of Committees, 8th January, 166⅞ (*Court Book*, xxvi. 177): "Mr. John Marshall chosen factor. Mr. John Marshall being recommended into the favour of this Court by the right honble. the Lord Craven, as a person of good education and deserts, was this day elected into the Companies service."

12. The Log of the *Unicorn*, Capt. Thomas Harman, a vessel of 330 tons and 30 guns, is preserved among the *Harleian MSS.* (No. 4252) at the British Museum. The vessel was one of a fleet of 10 East Indiamen, six of which were bound to Madras and four to Bantam. There is no entry in the Log for the 23rd January, 166⅞.

13. See *Introduction*, p. 3, for remarks on John Marshall's brothers.

14. The Maypole, set up in 1661, near the present site of the Church of St. Mary-le-Strand. It was taken down in 1717.

15. By "Tower stays" Marshall seems to mean the ropes for holding ships moored at the Tower.

16. According to the Log (*Harl. MS.* 4252) the *Unicorn* anchored at Holehaven Creek, a mile or so south of Leigh Creek, at 3 p.m., together with the *Coast* frigate, *Loyall Merchant*, *Loyall Subject* and *Rainbow*.

17. The Log (*op. cit.*) has "Boy in the Noore," which is obviously what Marshall intended to write. The deepest water in the Swatchway between the Nore sand and Grain spit is now marked by the Jenkin buoy. See *North Sea Pilot*, 1897, pt. iii. 387

18. The *Unicorn* carried as passengers (besides Marshall) seven writers and factors elected to the Company's service, two lads from Christ's Hospital as apprentices, and twelve soldiers. See *Court Book*, xxv*, 47.

19. The *Loyall Merchant* commanded by Capt Henry Risby, one of the ten ships of the Company's fleet assembled on the Downs.

20. That is, cut their masts down by the ship's side.

The Log of the *Unicorn* (*Harl. MS.* 4252) has no entries between 31st January and 10th March, 166$\frac{7}{8}$.

21. Humphrey Faircliff (or Faircloth), the Company's excise officer.

22. From the Log of this date we learn that the fleet was convoyed "out Channell" by the *Portland* frigate, Captain John Pearce.

23. Funchal Cathedral, completed *c.* 1514, was the seat of an Archbishopric 1539-47.

The "Colledge" is the Igreja do Collegio built by the Jesuits. The adjoining monastery now serves as barracks.

The Convent of Santa Clara, founded 1492, was formerly famous for sweetmeats, feather-flowers, etc. It now serves as a poor-house.

24. According to the Log (*op. cit.*) of 26th March, the Governor's name was "Donn Francisco Mascarrinio, a short black man who is a Kin to the King of Portugall." His leave was asked and obtained for watering and provisioning the ship.

25. Albinus Willoughby is mentioned in the Log under date 26th March (*Harl. MS.* 4252) among the English then living on the island. He may have been the father of the individual of that name who was elected a factor in the Company's service in 1670 and was sent to Bantam in July of that year (see *Letter Book*, iv. 357, and Introduction). After the marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Braganza special privileges were granted to English settlers in Madeira.

26. Green sickness, an obsolete term for anæmia ; chlorosis.

27. The walls, erected 1572-1637, were demolished early in the eighteenth century.

28. There is a brief description of Madeira in the Log (*Harl. MS.* 4252, f. 4-5) and a note of the purchase by the captain of 30 butts of wine for 890 dollars "Civill and Mexico."

29. Praia (Praya), the port of Santiago (São Thiago), commonly called St. Jago by seamen in Marshall's day. It is the largest of the Cape Verde Islands, an archipelago which has belonged to Portugal since the middle of the fifteenth century.

30. At Ribeira Grande, now known as Cidade Velha, or the Old City, the present residence of the Governor-General being at Praia.

31. In 1461 Prince Ferdinand of Portugal, brother of Alphonso V, sent an expedition to Guinea to obtain slaves (coffrees, *kāfar*, infidel) to people the islands.

32. In the Log (*op. cit.* f. 6v) it is stated that "A Cow or Beefe" might be bought for $6, "a hogg" for $2, and goats for $1½ each; "other things wee gott for knifes and clouts."

33. By "3d black ribbin," Marshall probably means "ribbon at 3d per yard."

34. Domestic animals were introduced in the Cape Verde Islands by the Portuguese.

35. The Log also speaks highly of the treatment accorded to the visitors by "the Capt. More," that is, the chief or head of the settlement (Port. *mor*, chief, principal).

36. On the 12th April a Consultation was held on the *Loyall Merchant* at which the "Companys Factors" were present, and it was decided to wait for the *Diligence*, which had just arrived and which needed some repairs (Log, *op. cit.* f. 7). The fleet sailed from Santiago on the 13th April.

37. Croziers, an obsolete term for the constellation of the Southern Cross. On Marshall's statement Mr. Kaye remarks: "The three chief stars are α, β, γ *Crucis*. Marshall seems to imply that if two of these stars have the same altitude, then one of them will be due south. As far as one can gather from his diagram, $d=\alpha$, but α is within the Milky Way, and his remark about the black cloud would hardly apply, and $b=\beta$. His data are very vague. The declination of α *Crucis* is now $-62°\ 39'$ approximately."

38. Part of the entry in the Log (*Harl. MS.* 4252, f. 13) for 29th June, 1668, is as follows: "It being Calme heave[d] the Leade, but noe ground at 208 fathom last night, and alsoe this day noone, although the water seemed to change."

39. The *Unicorn* anchored at Mauritius on the 30th July, 1668 (Log, *op. cit.* f. 16). Marshall has nothing to say regarding the voyage from the Cape to that island.

40. Marshall underestimates the size of the Island, which is 36 m. long and about 23 m. broad The reason why Capt. Harman was compelled to make Mauritius a port of call on the outward voyage was because the *Blackamore* and *Madrass Merchant*, who had rejoined the *Unicorn* on the 21st June, after having been forced by contrary winds to the coast of Brazil, insisted that it was necessary for them to refresh their men. The remainder of the fleet had disappeared from sight for some time.

41. Compare Peter Mundy's description (1638) of the ebony trees (*Diospyros ebenum*) at Mauritius (*Travels*, ed. Temple, iii. 349).

42 Marshall is right. There is no true box (*Buxus*) recorded from Mauritius. The species he saw was probably *Securinega durissima*. See Mundy, *op. cit., loc. cit.* f.n.

43. Compare Mundy, *op. cit.* p. 350.

44. This is probably the "small Kinde off Geese" seen by Mundy in 1638, *op. cit.* p. 355.

45. See Mundy, *op. cit.* p. 353, notes 3 and 4.

46. Monkeys are not indigenous to the Mauritius, but were introduced by Europeans.

47. The Flying-Fox, Fox-bat or Fruit-eating bat (*Petropus vulgaris*). See Mundy, *op. cit.* p. 351 and n. 3.

48. Several species of tortoises (*Testudo*) were common in the Mascarenes on their first discovery. They are now extinct.

49. Marshall's description of the bird he calls "Dodo" is more applicable to the now extinct rail (*Aphanapteryx broekii*), Mundy's "Mauritius hen" (*op cit.* p. 352).

50. Marshall is probably alluding to the short-winged heron (*Ardea megacepala*), now extinct.

51. Turtle (or Tortoise) Bay is the name given in the Log (*Harl. MS.* 4252, f. 17 v), to "the Easternmost of all the Bayes," two miles W. of Carpenter's Bay, the harbour now known as Port Louis, on the N.W. of the island.

52. See Mundy, *op. cit.* p. 254.

53. The Dutch took possession of Mauritius in 1598 and made a temporary settlement there in 1639, but no permanent settlement was maintained up to the time when they abandoned the island in 1712.

54. Booby, sailors' name for different species of gannet, especially *Sula fueca*. See Sir T. Herbert, *Travels*, p. 10.

55. The *Unicorn* sailed from Mauritius on the 7th August, 1668 (see Log, *op cit.* f. 22 v), and Marshall is again silent regarding events during the voyage until the ship reached the coast of India.

56. The Log (*op. cit.* f. 23 v) has a brief entry of the arrival of the ship in Madras Road, after which nothing is recorded until 5th July, 1669.

57. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Mussoola; Fryer, ed. Crooke, i. 103; Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, pp. 42-43 and n. 1, and 104 for illustration.

58. Coir (cair, cayre), rope of cocoanut husk.

59. Reals of eight, Spanish dollars, worth 5s. at this date. See Bowrey, *op. cit.* p. 114.

60. No other contemporary traveller appears to have noticed this interesting method of proffering and accepting service.

61. Compare Bowrey, *op. cit.* pp. 43-44, 104.

62. George Foxcraft, Governor 1665-1670. During this period he was imprisoned for three years by Sir Edward Winter whom he had superseded.

63. For a good contemporary description of Fort St. George see Fryer, ed. Crooke, i. 103-109.

64. Mum, a name for beer originally brewed at Brunswick. Keepers of Punch Houses were required to obtain a yearly license from the Governor and to pay a certain sum for the privilege. Bowrey (*op. cit.* p. 114) gives the value of the small gold fanam as 3d. at Fort St. George at this date

65. The Portuguese did not relinquish St. Thomé willingly. It was wrested from them in 1662 by the Muhammadan Governor of the district, who was assisted by the Dutch. See Barbosa, ed. Longworth Dames, ii. 126 n.; Mandelslo, p. 93; Fryer, ed. Crooke, i. 116-117.

66. For some of the "strange stories" see Barbosa, *op. cit.* pp. 126-129 and note. Neither Barbosa nor Bowrey (*op. cit.* pp. 44-45) mentions the well which maintained a fixed supply of water.

67. Marshall seems to be describing a *bajrā* used for transport as distinct from the "budgerow," a state or pleasure boat.

68. Bowrey, however, who visited Masulipatam a year or so later, found "Stately dwellinge houses . . of brick and Stone" (*op. cit.* p. 63).

69. See Bowrey, *op. cit.* pp. 62-63.

70. Salempores (cotton goods from Salem and Coimbatore Districts), often confused with Palempores, bedspreads Betteelas, Beteelas, Port. *beathila*, veiling, were fine muslins used for veiling.

71. The Factory House at Madapollam (Mādhavayapālem) was built by Sir Edward Winter on ground granted by the King of Golconda to the English, and was afterwards taken over by the Company. See Bowrey, *op. cit.* p. 100, n. 1.

72. The Vasishta branch of the Godāvari, called by the English Narsapur River.

73. Madapollam was the health resort for the Company's servants at Masulipatam. See Bowrey, p. 101.

74. Verasheroon (Vīravāsaram), where a factory was established in 1635. Streynsham Master found it in a still more ruinous condition in 1679. See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, ii. 170, and n. 2.

75. In 1679 Streynsham Master took measures to maintain the Company's right to their mango garden at Verasheroon. See *Diaries*, ed. Temple, ii. 170-171.

76. The text is illegible, and Marshall's transliteration is probably faulty.

77. Nizāmpatnam, called Pettipolee by the English, from the neighbouring village of Peddapalle. The Chief at Pettipolee at this date was Ambrose Salisbury, who conducted the Company's investment in saltpetre from 1662 until his death in 1675. See Bowrey, *op. cit.* p. 57, n. 1.

78 Palempore, Hind. *palangposh*, a bedspread, quilt, counterpane.

79. On this statement Mr. Kaye remarks: "This eclipse is given as visible in India in Schram's tables, according to which, for the latitude and longitude of Masulipatam, the moment of greatest phase was approximately 10 h. 12 m. a.m. local time."

II

DIARY OF A JOURNEY FROM BALASORE TO PATNA

1669-1670

BALLASORE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 4 (reverse).

5 July 1669. Came from Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] and arrived in Ballasore Road 9th [July] 4 clock afternoone, and anchored about 2½ Leagues from Shore,[1] we going ashore in a Purgo, which is a great Boat of 10 or 15 Tunns with their heads very low and Starns very high.[2] Wee came at a Barr 1 mile from shore, which is a very dangerous place to sail over, being very narrow and being very great seas. After our arrival on Shore, sayled about 16 miles up a river called Ballasore [Burabalang] River, and then arrived at Ballasore, where the English have a Factory a little way from the River side. This in the Rain times is very dirty, *vizt.*, from May to October after the first full or new Moone, when the Moonsoones break up, but after is very pleasant, having about a mile from the Towne severall very hansome Mango gardens.[3]

ROMANA [RAMUNĀ]

This towne lies about 4 miles from Ballasore which was formerly the Rojas King Towne where hee lived,[4]

but now a very demolished towne haveing as many old peeces of walls where houses stood, as now houses left, but it is situated in a very pleasant place, about 5 or 6 miles from the Hills called Nellegree [Nīlgiri] Hills, which are 8 miles from Ballasore. Neer Ballasore are many wild Buffalo, Tygers, &ca. esp[ec]ially neare the Hills. Ballasore is a very great Stragling towne, but scarce a house in it but dirt and thatcht ones.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5-6 (reverse).

14 *February* $16\frac{69}{70}$. Came from Ballasore, 3 Clock afternoon, To Ramchandrapore [Rāmchandrapur], being $3\frac{1}{2}$ Course or $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles, where lay untill 20th ditto morning. At this place are plenty of Wild Deer very larg, wild hogs, Peacocks, cocks and henns, Jackalls and Tygers. Tis reported That every Thursday at night a Tyger comes out and Salams to a Fuckeers Tomb there, and when I was there on thursday at night, it was both heard and seene.[5]

[Distance travelled] - - - - $3\frac{1}{2}$ Course.

20 *February*. Went to Gurropoda [Garhpadā], 2 Course, where dined by a very larg Tank wherein are many Teal, and by it severall Graves; 3 I saw suppose[d] to be inchantments, being the Shapes of Men with sticks stuck in their middle, through their members, legs and armes, suppose[d] to be to bewitch some people liveing and make them consume away as fast as them stick[s] rotted.[6]

To Busto [Bastā] after dinner, 2 Course off, where are plenty of Deer, &ca. as at Ramchandripore. Here met with the Nabob which was going to be Nabob of Orixa.[7] Hee could not have fewer in his Lascarr [*lashkar*, army, camp] than 10,000 people, haveing

many Elephants and aboundance of Camells and horses.

[Distance travelled] - - - - 4 Course.

23 *February*. Came to Narsampore [Naranpur], 2 Course, where dined. About 2 Course further wee crossed Pipley River,[8] by which wee met with the Rojas Souldiers who stopped one of our Banians called Morte [Mūrti] Ram. They begged money of us, who giving them none, they followed us and went with us to Gelliser [Jaleswar], being 1 Course further, where Mr. Bridges the Chief[9] gave them 7 rupees. They were daubed almost all over with Turmerick and white stuff, and naked except their members; have great swords, bowes and arrowes; Drumms which they beat as wee went along; there were in all came to us about 60 or 70.[10]

[Distance travelled] - - - - 5 Course.

24 *February*. After dinner went to Suna Cunnea [Sonakania],[11] 2 Course; To Dantam [Dāntan], 2 Course more. Here are Oftaes and Chellamaches &ca. [and other] bras[s] thing[s] made.[12]

[Distance travelled] - - - - 4 Course.

25 *February*. Came to Ranicussara [Rānikīs-arāī],[13] 2½ Course; To Mankaipore [Matkatpur], 1½ Course; To Boccarabole [Bakhrābād], 1½ Course; To Narrangur [Narāyangarh], 1½ Course. This last is a very Antient Roja Towne, where at the entrance is a great Bridge, after which is a Castle or Strong place of Bambo, about a ? mile thorow on each side, being exceeding thick with Green Bamboes, which make the place impregnable. There are three Gates, but only 2 entrances into the Castle, the 3d gate

being in the middle of the Castle.[14] This is a pleasant place to live in; here are many Muskeets [*masjid*, mosque], &ca. There are aboundance of Tygers, Peacocks, &ca.

[Distance travelled] - - - - 7 Course.

26 *February*. Came to Moccorumpore [Mokrampur], 2 Course.

27 *February*. Came to Bennapore [Benapur], 2 Course. To Arrack [Khargpur],[15] 2 Course; dined. To Medinopore [Midnapore], 2 Course. [Total] 6 Course.

28 *February*. Came to Potchcurrea [Panchkhūri], 2 Course. To Humblea,[16] 2 Course. To Huddelaband,[17] 2 Course; dined. To Asseraphore [Ashrafpur], 1 Course; in all the day, 7 Course, And in all from Ballasore 36½ Course, which at 3 miles per Course is 109½ miles. All the said 109½ miles have beene in Orixa.[18]

1 *March* 16$\frac{69}{70}$. Came to 2 great Pagothoes together, which part Orixa from Bengall,[19] 1 Course; soe travelled in all Orixa 112½ English miles.

To Jeckara [Jhakra], 2½ Course or 5¾ miles. To Burbanpore [Birbhānpur], 2 Course, wher [*sic*] dined. To Cottan,[20] 2½ Course. Travelled this day in Bengall, - - - - - - 7 Course.

2 *March*. To Jaunnabad [Jahānābād][21] near the River, a very great towne, 4 Course, a pagotho 1 Cours[e] off, very great. - - - 4 Course.

3 *March*. Came to Bangamoddan,[22] 5 Course, by the River, wher dined. To Sarampore [Srirāmpur], 2 Course, by a Tank. Here they grind Sugar Cain. Travelled this day, 7 Course.

4 *March*. To Diniacolley [Dhāniakhālī],[23] 2 Course.

To Duarbarsley [Dwarbasini], 3 Course, where dined. To Palpah [Polba], 2 Course. [Total] 7 Course.

5 *March*. Came to Hugly, 2½ Course, Soe that in all Bengall wee travelled 27½ Course, which at 2¼ miles per Course (these being much less than Orixa Course),[24] are in all 61⅞ English miles, which [with] the 112¼ miles which travelled in Orixa, make in all 174 miles. I esteeme the whole way from Ballasore to Hugly to be North East, which makes the Meridian distance to be East 123 2/10, and Lattitude raised North [illegible]. There were in Company that travelled overland Mr. Shem Bridges Chiefe of Bengall, Mr. Walter Clavell Second, Mr. Edward Read and his wife, Gabraell Townesend, Sarah the wife of Wm. Bramston,[25] and my selfe.

Hugly is a very great Towne in which live very many Portuge[es]; [26] great part of the towne was formerly called Satagam.[27] The English and Dutch have each of them a stately Factory [28] scituate by the River which is a Branch of the River Ganges.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 7-8 (reverse).

Monday 28 *March* 1670. About 4 Clock afternoone came from Hugly to English Garden,[29] which is 1 Course and lies on West side River.

Memorandum. Where to [two] Townes lie of Left hand going up River, I writ west, and where on Right, East.

Tuesday 29 *March*. At 3 Afternoone came from Garden to Trevinay,[30] West 1 Course. To Mucktapore,[31] West 4 Course. To Hotkonda [Hautkunda, R., 1774], West 2 Course. To Sandaipore,[32] West 2 Course.

[Distance travelled] - - - - 9 Course.

Wednesday 30 *March.* To Cohandarea [? Cushadanga, R. 1774], 2 Course East, where are good Mulmulls for Nainoes[33] to be bought; a great town in extent, by the water side. Here the Choukeedar [*chaukīdār*, watchman] came to know what wee were. Hee asked buxis [*bakhshīsh*].

To Taptapore and Amboa,[34] West 1 Course; very long Towne, at least 1½ Course. To Hurnadee,[35] East, from begining of Taptapore 2½ Course. To Murghhapore,[36] West 3 Course. Here a Choukadar desired Buxis. To Sahmadugur,[36] West 3 Course, where the River parts that runs up to Cassumbuzar.[37] To the place where stayed that night, ½ Course. Sayled and rowed and pulled this day - - 12½ Course.

Thursday 31 *March.* To Nuddea [Nadiā], West 1 Course. This is a good place to buy Mulmuls, Cossas,[38] &ca. at. I bought severall there. The natives will aske 3 times as much as you may buy them for. This towne lies a little from the River side. I had a feaver in which I sweat from 2 Afternoone yesterday to 4 this morning, and had a hot fit for 4 houres before my sweat.

To Panuella, East 2 Course. Here a Chowkedar asked for buxis. To Gundithpore [? Punditpur], West 3 Course. To Gabbah [Jaba], ¼ Course East. To Motpore [Makatpur], 1½ Course East. To Juanpore [Javarampur, R. 1774], ½ Course West. To another towne neare which wee lodged, East, nere which wee stayed that night under a steep bank, 2¼ Course. Here is a place to ferry over the water at. [Distance travelled] - - - - 10½ Course.

Friday 1 *Aprill* 1670. To Umlea [Andulia], East 2 Course; a Hindoo little Pagotho. To Culganchee

[Kulgāchī], 3 Course East. To Gaulbattan,[39] 2 Course West. To Bower [? Baxipur], West 5 Course. [Total] 12 Course.

Saturday 2 *Aprill.* To Patkaburree [Patkabarī], ½ Course West. To Assalappore [Azlāmpur], East 3 Course. To Gopolpore [Gopālpur], 1 Course East. Here a Choukedar asked us whence we came, &ca. To a little Towne, East 2 Course. From hence the River is very winding[40] and our Course was from SBE [*sic*] to SSW. In about 1 Course here, passed by a boat sunk, which had lead and long pepper[41] in it, belonging to the Moores [Muhammadans].

To Mergee [Mrigī], 2 Course East. To Gubbarampore [? Jairāmpur], 1 Course, a place to ferry over at. To Jaggaipore [Jogīpur], 1 Course. To Sandalpore [Surangpur], ½ Course. To Hussanpore,[42] West ¾ Course. To Lattigundy [Natidānga], ¼ Course, a pleasant place for topes of trees - - 12 Course.

This day our Course was most East and West, little North or South. Here some Jackalls coming to eat the Rice the Boatmen had left, I shot one very great one at 8 clock night, after which very many came to him and seemed to mourne.

Easterday 3 *Aprill.* To Moddoopore [Madhupur], West ½ Course. To Gungadurtee [Gangadharī], 1 Course East. To Kelagatchee,[43] 1 Course. To Gungurreepore [? Ginerpur], ½ Course. To Hanpore, ½ Course. To Herrampore, ½ Course. To Monterpore [Monkterpour, *B.A.* xii.], ¼ Course. To Jagganurpore [Jagobandhanpur], ⅛ Course. To Dungarpore, ¼. To Guyghaut,[44] ½. Here a Choukeedar demanded to see our Dustick [*dastak*, pass, permit], soe wee shewed him Shasti Cauns Phirwanna [Shāistah

Khān's *parwāna*][45] and gave him one Rupee. This is a great towne[46] which paies to the Nabob 18000 Rupees per annum. To Ottampore,[47] ½. To another called Guyghout [*gaighāt*], ½. To Gurrinarre [Gorimari],[48] West, ¼. From this place the River is very broad. To Suddeegandeear [Saddiconkader, R., *B.A.* xi.], East 4 Course. To Hubbee behaungchaw, West 1 Course. To Gungades [? Goass, R., *B.A.* xi.], cam[e] opposit[e] to Hubbee ba. Rowed 1 Course further and stayed West - - - 12⅝ Course.

Munday 4 *Aprill.* To Herrampore [? Hirampur] and Calcapore,[49] West 1 Course. To a River, part of that which runs to left hand, 1 Course. To Nuddadpore [? Naudapara], 1 Course. Here a Chowkeedar [*chaukīdār*] came to us and wee gave him 1 Rupee and 1 knife worth ⅓ Rupee. About ½ Course further the River Runs upon the right hand to Decca [Dacca], soe here enters the great River of Ganges. To Gurrerhaut,[50] 3½ Course East. Opposit to the towne wee put into a creek to stay at 2½ Clock afternoon - - - - - - - 7 Course. Here G. T. [Gabriel Townsend] said hee see the Great Hills,[51] but I did not.

Tuesday 5 *Aprill.* To Querpodda [? Kumarpārā, Comerpour, R., *B.A.*], East 2 Course. To Chaddegarampore,[52] West ½ Course. To Colmegar,[53] 1½ Course. Here wee were but 7 Course by Land from Cassumbuzar. Here [were] severall boats and a Buzzar [*bāzār*] for corne &ca. To Hedderapore [? Bidderpour, R., *B.A.*, xv.], East 1½ Course. To Salampore [Islampur], West 2½ Course. To Wodderapore [? Hoodrapour, R., *B.A.* xv.], 2 Course

10 Course.

This towne lies ⅛ of Course up a River or Harber. Here I see the Great Hills Westerly, but farr of.

Wednesday 6 *Aprill.* To Nickipore [Luckypour, R. 1775], 1½ Course East. To Turtipore [Turtipur], ¼; here a buzzar. To Hodgopolpore,[54] West 1 Course. To [a] Place East, where were forced to take up to lodge [2¼], by reason of stormy weather at 3½ clock afternoon, haveing a rainy and stormy night - - - - - - - 5 Course.

Thursday 7 *Aprill.* To Narrumgabad,[55] 1 Course West. To Geealmarree [Jewalmaree], 3 Course. To Downapore [Downapour, R., *B.A.* xv.], 1 Course; this a great towne. To Dougotchee,[56] 8 Course; here a Surray and Chowkee. To Urriapore [? Harryapour, R. 1775), 1 Course. To a River coming from the West where lay - - - - - 15 Course.

Here the Hills seemed about 10 Course of,[57] the South end about S.W. and the North end N.W. The River [I] suppose to come out of Ganges or from the Hills. This day my ague left mee, having had it March 28, 30, and Aprill 1, 3, 5, the 3 last being very violent, but took 2 Pills upon 3d and 2 upon 5th at night, having brought them from England, which carryed away my ague.

Friday 8 *Aprill.* To Nisseray [Nāī Sarāī, ? Serai, R., 1775], West 2 Course. To Chandapurra [Chandpur], 1 Course. To a little Surray [*sarāī*, inn] in a Cola [*kol*, creek] or Harber, 5 Course. To a branch of the River which goes to Rojimaul [Rājmahal] ⅛ Course. To Rojamaul, ⅞ Course - - 9 Course.

About 1 Clock p.m. arrived ½ Course from Rojamaul, where stayed and could get noe nearer by reason of shallow water.

Arrived at Rojamaul, which is about 1 Course from the River Ganges. The Towne is very long from East Southerly to West Northerly, being about 4 Course from the Hills. The towne is very large and hath many stone houses tarrassed at top, and the other very pitifull ones and thatched, and the walls of brick.

The house in which the Kings sonn[58] some years since lived is very long. There is a Garden belongs to the house which is about ½ Course out of Towne South, which with the house cost 25 Lack of Rupees or 2,500,000 Rupees, which at 2s. 3d. per rupee amount to in Sterling 281250 li., The house haveing Cost 16 Lack and the Garden 9 Lack. The Garden consists of 4 Quadrangles, 2 of them built and walled with stone round about, each side being at least 200 yards long.

Cross [across] the Quadrangle are two walks paved with large freestone. In the middle of each walk is a channell paved, about 2 yards broad and a foot deep, into which are very many leaden pipes, through which water is carried and runs through the Garden. The walk[s] with the channell are about 8 yards broad. In said Channell is severall Great stones for to step upon to goe over it.

In the middle of each side of the Quadrangle is a large and stately Banqueting house 2 stories high, adorned with much marble marked neatly, and in the middle of [the] Quadrangle a neat Banquiting house. The South West and North West sides lie against a great Tank. At the outside of [the] Garden South is a place behind the Kings sonns seat to convey up water into a Cestern, from which all the Pipes are supplyed with water, which in some Banquiting

Roomes is conveyed to the Second Story high. On the South West side is a marble table about 3 inches thick, 7 foot long and 4 foot broad.[59]

The Garden hath a pleasant fruit in it called Toote [*tūt*], which signifies a mulberry, about 3 inches long and about as thick at the great end as a mans little finger. It consists of little berries as mulberries doe. It is very sweet and pleasant.

The Garden is now much ruined, but hath been a very stately one. In the lodgings and rooms about it is accommodation for 1000 men.

The Towne of Rojamaul cannot be less than 2 Course long. The English house[60] is stone and tarrassed as all their stone houses are, and it consists of 3 little small roomes and 1 little upper room, lies about a stone cast from the River, but wee could not goe up the Rover [*sic*] to the house by reason of the Shallowness thereof.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 9-13 (reverse).

11 *Aprill.* Came from Rojimaul 6½ Clock morning, night, when lodged in the Boat, being very stormy having come from English house the 10th at 8 clock and rainy.

Wee sayled through the little River North Westerly, a[b]out a Course. To Moaddipore [Mehendipur], West 4½ Course. To a Point where appeares a new opening of the Hills, 3½ Course, the Hills now being about 2 or 2½ Course from the River and the new opening hill 5 Course of. Here suppose to be the North point, when first saw the Hills which appeares now West By North, and the North point of new land North West and South Point of whole South West.

To Puttahaw,[61] East 1 Course. To Burgungall,[62] West 1 Course, here a great Chowkee [*chaukī*, customs station]; here a great gate through which none can pass by Land unexamined.

This towne is 1 mile from the bottome of the Hill; here a stone house upon the top of a Hill. Here a Chowkeedar called us. Wee sent our Dustick [*dastak*, permit] which wee took out at Rojamaul, and 6 pice was demanded of us, and paid.

To a Cola [*kol*] or harber where stayed that night, 1 Course.

[Distance travelled] - - - - 11 Course.

Tuesday 12 *Aprill*. To Gundadurkee, West 1 Course. To a Towne East ¼ Course from the River, 3 Course. To Popolpore,[63] 2 Course. To Baukerpore [Bakarpur Ogairah], 1 Course. To Gorre[64] West, ½ Course. To Dellegola,[63] East 1 Course, where is a Chowkee. Here for about 1 Course the Hills are low and far of, seeming to break of.

To Paintee [Pirpaintī], ½ Course West, at the bottom and sides of the Hills, being low and also close by the River. To Dolladee,[63] East, where lay in a Cola [*kol*] that night, being opposit to Paintee and ⅛ Course from the River; here bought provisions.

Wednesday 13 *Aprill*. To Rampora [? Madho Rāmpur], West 2½ Course. To Hardora,[63] 2½ Course East. To Caushdee, 3 Course West. Here the Hills come close to the River. Here wee sayled S.S.W.

Here at the bottom of the hills, which are but low, are rocky; here one house of stone and one muskeet [*masjid*] at the top of the Hill. Near the middle of the River a knot of Rocks about 3 or 4 yards above the water.[65] Here the Hills discontinue and are in

parts about ½ Course and 1 Course distant from each other, there being now in sight not above 3 or 4.

Opposit to this place is a good Cola [*kol*] East, and a Chowkee [*chaukī*] which wee spoke not with. Under the next hill West, being ½ Course of, is another or part of this towne. Here wee saled West By South. To the Cola where stayed this night from Caushdee, 2 Course.

Here are in sight 2 parcells of Rocks,[65] which in time of the Rivers flowing, the water flowes by them. They appeare like 2 little hills and bear from the Cola South East by South and are about 2 Course of. About 1½ Course from these Rocks is the furthest hill by or near the River, bearing South East, upon the top of which is a towne appearing with severall white houses. The rest of the Hills seeme very farr of and the furthest southerly point appearing South by East. Here see several Pellicans.

This day sayled in all 10 Course. Here are in sight 5 hills near the River, the furthest up the River bearing South East and the nearest East, besides the 2 Rocks, and the 2 Hills far of.[66]

This afternoon sayled much Westerly and Southerly. The 5 hills here seeme all equidistant from each other, that East being the least; the next it the bigest, and the other 3 all alike - - - - 10 Course.

Thursday 14 *Aprill.* Lattitude N. 2d. To Salarpore [? Sālpur], West 2½ Course; here the River broads and full of Islands of Sands. To Cassipore [? Gauspur], East 2½ Course. To Barraddee [Barāri], 1½ Course. To Agalpore,[67] 2 Course; here [a] Chowkeedar [*chaukīdār*], to whom wee gave 1 Tuaka [*takā*] or 2 pice [*paisā*]. To a little towne where stayed that night.

This day sayled almost all the day West and West a little Southerly and Northerly, soe suppose true course to be West. Here are innumerable company of green Parrats [parrakeets], green pig[e]ons and other fowle. Here I killed 5 Parrats when could not see one by reason of night, only see the bowes of the trees bend, at which I shot. Here the Hills are in 2 parts, the one seeming long and the furthest end West, and the furthest end of the other South

12 Course.

Friday 15 *Aprill.* To Goura,[68] 2½ Course East. To Meste [Masdi, adjoining Sultanganj], 3 Course West. This towne is a very large towne, hath a Maskeet [*masjid*] or Stone house upon a Rock by the water side. Opposit to this towne East is a little towne called Jengera [Jahāngīra].

To Gurragaut [Ghorghāt], 3½ Course West. This towne hath a stone bridge with 7 Arches, which is about 40 yards long, 15 or 20 high, and 6 or 7 broad.[69] About ½ Course South of this towne is a little hill with a Muskeet or white stone house upon it. I suppose said Bridge is for the water in rain time to run under in the Ditch,[70] which probably may come from the Hills, which now is dry.

By reason of the hazy evening cannot know how far the Hills may bee seen when clear weather, but now can see them from about South West to North West, they appearing about 6 or 7 Course of and are as high as Nelligree [Nīlgirī] hills near Ballasore.

This day sayled most Southerly and Westerly, soe suppose our Course to be West or West By South; severall sands in the middle of River, and the River very shallow, which much hindered our way. This a

long towne, or rather severall Hindoo townes joyned together. Here bought provisions.

[Distance travelled] - - - - 9 Course.

Saturday 16 *Aprill.* This morning see very many Alligators, some very great ones.

To Aggiapore,[71] East 2 Course; sayled all North. To Gogree [Gogrī], 5 Course; sayled North Westerly. To Gemallpore [Jamālpur],[72] sayled 1 Course North. To [a] little towne, 3 Course, sayled West. To a little Towne, 1½ Course, sayled South West By West. To Cola [a *kol*, creek], where stayed this night, sayled South West.

Now hazy that can see but one little hill bearing South By West. Here very many Parrats. Suppose our Course to bee this day North West. Here many Jackalls and Muskeetos [mosquitoes]. Sayled in all this day - - - - - - 13 Course.

Sunday 17 *Aprill.* To Mungere [Monghyr], West 2 Course, sayled South. This towne by the water side lies North and South. Here a very large house where the King lived,[73] walled next the River for about ½ Course with brick and stone, with a wall about 15 yards high. At North end of this towne, at the North end of said house, is a great garden By the river side are few great houses in sight except the Kings. The wall at South end runs up East, soe suppose [it] to goe round about the house. At South end of towne are severall thatcht houses and severall toomes and Muskeets [*masjid*, mosque].

About ¼ Course further South are 2 hansome topes [*tōp*, grove] of trees, from which sayled South Westerly, the Hills bearing one end South West By

South and the other end South South East, but being hazy could not clearly see their extent, but they seemed indifferent [moderately] high and about 7 or 8 Course from Mungere. At Mungeer see severall women washing at the River, which were whiter than most women I had seene in India for poore women.

This towne stands upon an ascent, the River banke by it being 8 or 10 yards high. From 9 clock, being then ½ Course from South end of Mungere, being against a wall made of brick by the River side about 5 yards high and 20 long, with a little tower at each end, which wall is a fortification to put Gunns in; ½ Course further the River bends North West, soe now from North end of Mungere 1½ Course.

To Jagarinutpore,[74] East 3 Course, sayled North West. To Laulpore,[74] 1 Course, sayled North West. To Cutlubpore [Kutlupur], 2 Course, sayled West. To Cotgola,[75] West 2 Course, sayled West. To Sugegurrah [Sūrajgarhā], ½ Course. Suppose our true Course this day West. Here the hills bear from South West by South to East South East. Here many Muskeetos and other flies - - 12 Course.

Munday 18 *Aprill.* To Sugegurry,[76] ¼ Course West, lying a little up the River and some thatcht houses near the River; this a great towne. To Fottarepore,[77] 1¾ Course; here 5 little townes together or one town of 5 names. Sayled West Northerly. To Gehaumah,[77] 5 Course East, sayled West. To Shecolee,[77] 1½ Course, sayled West. To Durriapore [Dariapur], West 3½ Course, sayled West by North. Suppose our Course to bee this day West Northerly.

12 Course.

This town hath all thatcht houses, and at each end a neat tope of Trees. Here a Buzzar where bought provisions; here toddy[78] and many fields of Cotton. Here lost sight of the Hills.

Tuesday 19*th April.* To Mokoia [Mokāmeh], West 1½ Course. To Goleighey,[79] 1½ Course. To Mohore [Mor], ½ Course. To Chowkey [a *chaukī*, toll station], 1 Course, sayled all North West. To Cundoreck [Punārakh], ½ Course. This day at 11 clock forced to put into a Cola [*kol*, creek] to mend our boat, being leaky, that ready to sink. Wee took out all things and found 6 or 7 Rats which had eaten and spoyled about 7 yards English Cloth and torne bags of Cloves. Nere this harbour lay a dead man in the River and a crow and a raven eating him. Course this day North West - - - - - 5 Course.

Wednesday 20 *Aprill.* To Jangera [? Jahāngīra], 2 Course West. To Aunichocarra [? Achuara], 4½ Course. To Gunsurpore, 1½ Course. To Bidderea [? Bushara], 1 Course. To Rannicassera [Rānī Sarāī], 1 Course. To Hansurepore [Ghansurpur], 1½ Course. To [a] little towne East, 1 Course. To Cola [a *kol*], West, ½ Course. Suppose our Course this day North West Westerly - - - - - 13 Course.

This day Gab[riel Townsend] fell from words to Blowes about 1 Clock afternoon. This day see 3 dead men in Ganges.

Thursday 21 *Aprill.* To Bunderbunna,[80] West, 5 Course. To Footooa [Fatuhā, Fatwā], 1 Course. This long towne of little houses, at least ½ Course long; here [a] stone bridge.[81] To Punpun [Pūnpūn],[82] 1½ Course. To Subalpore [Sabalpur], ½ Course. This

belongs to Pattana. At the North end of this towne is Jaffercawns [Ja'far Khān's] Garden, which hath a Turret at each end North and South and in the middle a little white house with a Belcony towards the River, [and] is walled with brick and stone. Came against this garden at 4 clock afternoon.[83]

To the begining of Pattana [Patna], 1 Course; here at 5½ clock. To Nabobs house ½ Course, 6 Clock. To English Godowne,[84] ½ Course, 6¾ clock; in all this day North West - - - - 10 Course.

Against the Nabobs [Shāistah Khān's house] and in severall other places the water was very strong against us. These 2 last dayes had severall whirle winds in the afternoons, not above a quarter of an houre one after another, and sometimes not 2 minutes; sometimes they were ready to overset the boat.

Fryday 22 *Aprill.* To Hodgipore [Hājīpur], East 3½ Course. This is a great towne; here the great River Ganges or Gunga Gunduck [Gandak] River neere, which comes from Singee [Singhiyā], the River Ganges coming from North West and Gunduck North. Opposit to Hodgipore is Soneigh [Sonpur], West. To Budgerpore [Baijalpur], West ½ Course. To Simra [Semara], 1 Course. To Sucarpore [Shikarpur], ¼ Course. To Cuttarpore,[85] ¼ Course East. To Peeruddur,[85] ½ Course West. Bannowa [Baruā] is opposit to this towne. To Herraule [Haraulī],[86] ½ Course East. To Nuctissarony,[87] ½ Course. To Mounda, 1 Course West. To Brissunta [Basanta], ½ Course East. To Jonabad [Jahānābad], ½, where is the English Factory, being about ½ Course from Singhee [Singhiyā].[88] Arrived at Factory at 6 a Clock night, in all - - - - 8 Course.

The whole sayled is $231\frac{3}{8}$ Course, which at $2\frac{1}{4}$ English miles per Course, is $520\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. The way by Land from Hugly to Pattana is esteemed to be 170 Course, which are, at $2\frac{1}{4}$ mile English per Course, $382\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

I perceive Patna lies North West By West of Huglie, soe that by this account Pattana would be $320\frac{4}{10}$ miles or 5d. 20m. West, And 208 miles or 3d. 28m. North of Huglie; but I suppose the way by which men travell lies not in a right line North West by West, by reason of the Great Hills which hinder their passage.

27 *May* 1670. Upon the 27th day of May 1670 at Singee at 12 clock I observed with a wooden Quadrant when the Sun was 87d. 20m. high; the Suns declination then being 22d. 45m. makes the Lattitude of Singee to be 25d. 25m., soe supposing Singee to lie 10 mile North from Pattana makes the Lattitude of Pattana to be 25d. 15m.[89]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 3a.

Memorandum. Boat called Budgeroe. The Boat I came from Huglie to Pattana in was made about $23\frac{1}{4}$ yards long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards broad in middle, and rowed by 14 men and 2 steermen, one at the head and another at the starne.[90]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 6.

1st June 1670. The Raines in the yeare 1670 at Pattana came in June the first.

6th July 1670 *Memorandum*. I observed the Sun at rising bore East By North $\frac{1}{2}$ Northerly.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 6a.

Memorandum. The 6th July 1670 I observed in Pottana the Suns hight at 12 Clock which was

87d. 30m.; the Declination then being 21d. 23m., [I] make [the] Lattitude 23d. 53m.; but the Observation being by a small Quadrant, [I] cannot give so much credit to it as to former [observations].

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 14-16 (reverse).

29th July. Went to ? Bannia,[91] North 6 Course, where lay that night under a great Tree.

BRINKALATTEE [BHĪM KĀ LĀTHĪ, BHĪMA'S CLUB]

30 July. Went to ? Brinkalattee or Brins [Bhīma's] club, 1 Course North, which is a Piller [the Lion Pillar] of one stone as I conceive. It is 9 yards 9 inches high and 3 yards 33 inches thick or round about. At the top of this piller or Lattee [*lāthī*, staff, club] is placed a Tyger [lion] ingraven, the neatliest that I have seene in India. His face lookes North North East, ½ Easterly.[92] It stands in a pleasant grove close by this, in a little but high hill, higher than Lattee, within which is a Fuckeers [*faqīr's*] house, the entrance into which is like an oven, being so little that I was forced to creepe to get into it, and when within it could stand upright in it, it being within built like the roofe of an oven, and something steepling. In it was a Fuckerre man.

The Story or Fable concerning Brin, some of it is (*vizt.*): There was a Great Gyant whose name was Roja ? Durren [Dharmā], whose wifes name was Cunta [Kuntī]. These two had 5 Sonnes (*vizt.*) Doojustee [Yūdisthīra], Orgun [Arjuna], Succodoo [Sahādeva], Lackoor [Nakula], and Brin [Bhīma]. Of the rest no further but Brin lived here, and this pillar was his Stick to walk with, which is said to be

twise as much under as above ground. Oft men came into the world [and] Brin see them so very little creatures and yet so cunning and so far exceeding him that hee was much troubled thereat, and went into the Tartarian Mountains and there betwixt 2 great hills lay downe and dyed and was covered with snow. The hills are called Brin hills after his name.

The Hindoos have this Fiction of him (*vizt.*), That one time this Cunta and her 5 Sonns were travelling together, and at length coming to a great River which they could not leap over, they met with a great Alligator, who understanding that they could not get over, told them that if they would give him one of them hee would carry over the rest, to which they agreed, but quarrelled amongst themselves which it should bee, every one being desireous to cleare himselfe. At last it was voted that the Alligator should have Brin, the youngest of them. So the Alligator carrieth Cunta and her 4 eldest sonnes over, and coming to Brin, hee eat him at one mouthfull. But Brin, when hee was in the Alligators mouth, having a great peece of Iron in his hand, grated against and cut the Alligators belly within, which made the Alligator cry, and bid him come out againe; and Brin asked him which way. The Alligator told him at his back side, at which Brin was so angry that hee came out at his mouth, and as hee came, cut out the Alligators Tongue for that affront and carryed it away with him. Ever since which time Alligators have had no tongues nor could speake. Also after Brin came out, hee got upon the Alligators back and puld of the Skin from thence and from his sides, which before was Scaly and extroordinary hard.[93]

Neare this Piller or Lattee are two little Hills about ¼ mile distant neare each other, the highest and Northerly of them bearing from said Lattee North West. These two hills are said to be raised out of the ground with 2 kicks of Brins foot. About ½ mile from these 2 Hills North in [? is] a Towne called Buckera, where is [? wherein] one great Moore [Muhammadan] lives, who belongs to the Nabob of Pattana. Hee hath severall brick houses, all enclosed with a dirt wall, dented at the top. This towne is not great, but well scituated amongst pl[e]asant gardens, &ca.

MOORES TOMBE

In returning back, about a Course, or 2 mile, on this side the Latte [*lāthī*], is a Tome [tomb] upon the top of a steepe hill, wheron growes extroordinary great trees, and under are pleasant groves. The Moore buried in the Tombe, his name was Merza-Syad-Mamood-Obdull [Mīrzā Saiyid Mahmūd Abdu'l]. This tombe is scituated in an extroordinary pleasant place, both for coolnes, prospect, and musick of many birds chirping. It is about ¼ mile from Bursta.[94]

10 *August* 1670. At 9 clock afternoon came from Johnabad [Jahānābād]. Came that night to Sowages [Sivajī's] Garden.[95]

11 *August*. Came 7½ clock from Sowadges Garden. Arrived at Pattana 9 clock morning, stayed halfe an houre and returned back againe.

12 *August*. 6½ clock morning, came from Sowadges Garden againe and arrived at Pattana at 8.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 10a.

30 *August*. *Memorandum*. Then in Pattana I observed the hight of the Sun at 12 Clock when it was high, 69d.

MAMOOD HUSSAINE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 12.

Memorandum. About the 7th September 1670, when Mamidarif [Mahmūd 'Ārif] the English Vakeele [*vaqīl*], was about to get the English boats cleared, which had been stopped by the Governor about 23 dayes, hee desired Mamood Hussain's [Mahmūd Husain] (one of Abraham Chawn's Mulvas [Ibrahīm Khān's *maulavī*] [96]) assistance, and desired him to do us that courtisie, who said, "Are the English of my relilion [*sic*, religion], or are they Mussellmen [Musalmāns]? They are neither, nor are they either friends to God nor man; so that should I do them any courtesie, God would be displeased with mee and men would not praise mee."

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16 (reverse).

13 *September*. I went to Punpund [Pūnpūn], where I put on board the Patellees [97] of the Company's and those hired by them, my goods, and those committed to my charge, and that night returned againe to Pattana.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 12a.

In Pattana a Hindoo brought to mee upon the 14th September 1670 some barly which hee had Sacrifized, which hee said was of but 10 days growth, and it was some of it 11 inches long. Hee gave some to others also, as the custome is, to signifie that as hee distributed that corne, it would bee plentifull, it then being very scarce.

NOTES ON CHAPTER II

Note.—In the identification of place-names in Chapters II, III, IV and V the following abbreviations are used :

S.S. Survey of India Sheets, 1 in. to the mile.

R., *B.A.* Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, ed. 1781.

R., 1773, 1774, etc. Rennell's large scale sheets, 5 m. to the inch, published 1773, 1774, etc.

Where identifications are given in square brackets in the text, the Survey Sheets must be understood as authority unless otherwise indicated.

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1. The Log of the *Unicorn* (*Harl. MS.* 4252, f. 23a) has very brief entries regarding the voyage to Balasore, and these only record the number of miles sailed each day

2. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 228, for an illustration of this variety of boat and a note on the derivation of the term

3. The foundation of an English settlement at Balasore was laid in 1633 by Ralph Cartwright who, in response to an invitation from Mīr Kāsim, Governor of the District, established a factory there. For contemporary remarks on the Company's buildings see *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, ii. 76 ; Bowrey, *op. cit.* p. 162, n. 3.

4. Romana is the Ramena of Gastialdi's map (1561) and the Rammoena of Broucke's map (*c.* 1660), 5 miles west of Balasore. The " Roja's King Towne " possibly means his capital, as Ramunā was regarded by several old geographers as the capital of Orissa. The place is marked on maps of the early eighteenth century, but does not appear later.

5. At Rāmchandrapur is the tomb of Muhammad Khān Shahīd, one of Kālā Pahār's commanders. Marshall may have heard some local legend regarding this tomb and confused it with that of a *faqīr*.

6. At Garhpadā, 15 miles north of Balasore, is the tomb of another of Kālā Pahār's captains, but no record remains of the " inchantments " observed by Marshall.

7. The history of the Nawābs of Orissa at this period is incomplete. Professor Jadunath Sarkar (*Studies in Mughal India*, p. 200) gives Safī (or Saif) Khan, October 1669-? and Rashīd Khān, ?-March, 1676. But from the records of the E.I.Co. (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.) we get the following list: Ibrahīm Khān, Nawāb in 1673, succeeded in March of that year by Safī Khān, who was shortly after replaced by Safshikan Khān, who in his turn was succeeded by Rashid Khan in 1674. So it seems as if the Nawāb to whom Marshall alludes was Ibrahīm Khān, unless Safī Khān held the office at two different periods. See Bowrey, *op. cit.* p. 152, n. 4.

8. "Pipley" river represents the Subunreeka of Rennell, and the Subarnarekhā of the *S.S.* (correctly Suvarnarekhā). It carried the trade of Piplī in the early days of European settlement.

9. Shem Bridges was head of the Company's factories in Bengal from 1667 to 1671. See Streynsham Master, *op. cit.* i. 368 n.

10. Marshall is describing a company of *sannyāsi*, bandits who claimed to belong to a religious fraternity, but who were really bands of brigands. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v* Sunnyasee.

11. Sunacunnea appears as Sonakoonia in the *Indian Atlas Sheet* 114 (1867), and as "Sunakaunea" 2½ kos from "Daunton" in a "*List of the Chowkeys, Men, and Coses from Calcutta to Ballasore*," *c.* 1763, endorsed "Rout from Calcutta to Ballasore by the Sapper's account" (*Orme MSS.* 67, p. 21).

12. By "Oftaes" and "Chellamches" Marshall means *aftaba* and *chilamchī*, brass ewers and basins.

13. Marshall's Rānī-kī-sarāī, the Ranayserai of *R*, 1774, is apparently identical with the Rānīpur of the *S.S.*

14. Narāyangarh, the Narangur of R., 1774, a village in Midnapore subdivision, 21 miles south of Midnapore. The fort, of which some traces exist, as well as the ancient lines of fortifications, was looked upon as the key of Orissa at this period.

15. Arrack, the Khargpur of the *S.S.*, is probably identical with the Curracpour of R., 1774.

16. Humblea, the Amleah of R., 1774, may be identical with the Amrakuchi of the *S.S.*

17. Huddelaband is the Addalabad of R., 1774. It is not on the *S.S.*, but must have been near Keshpur.

18. Marshall's estimate is roughly correct.

19. One of these "Pagothoes" must have been the "Cedenkteeken" (monument) marked on Van der Broucke's map (published in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v) to the

north-east of Midnapore, and the "Old Tower" of last century maps. It indicated the old boundary between Bengal and Orissa. There was another near Bourgengal (Marshall's Burra-jungull) north of Rājmahal (see Valentyn, *op. cit.*).

The districts of Midnapore and Hijili belonged to the Kingdom of Orissa in the time of the Muhammadan Kings and early Mughals. In Todar Mal's rent-roll (*c.* 1582 A.D.) they are shown together as one sarkar of Orissā. Blochmann was led by Valentijn to think that the country as far as Balasore was attached to Bengal in Shāh Shūjā's Viceroyalty; but from Marshall's statement it is evident that up to 1670, that is ten years later than Shāh Shūjā's rule, the southern part of Midnapore District was still considered to be in Orissa.

20. Cottan does not appear in Rennell. It was probably in the neighbourhood of the Katapokhur of the *S.S.*

21. Jahānābād, the name of which was changed, in 1900, to Arāmbāgh, to avoid confusion with a Jahānābād in Gayā District. It was a place of importance in Marshall's day as it was on the old road from Midnapore to Burdwān. There is no trace now of the "very great" pagoda, which has probably disappeared owing to the encroachments of the river. See *Hugli Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 243-4.

22. The Bangamura of R., 1774, and the Bhangamorah of the *Indian Atlas Sheet* 121 of 1866. It does not appear on the *S.S*

23. The Deneacolly of R., 1774. Compare Streynsham Master, *op. cit.* "Denia Colly within a dayes Journey of Hugly."

24. Marshall's statements as to the varying extent of a *kos* (measure of distance) in different districts are very interesting. In his *Diary* of 14th February he makes "3½ Course" equal 10 miles, or 2$\frac{6}{7}$ miles ? to the *kos*. Later (28th February) he says that 3 miles go to a *kos* in the same Province (Orissa). Now he gives the extent of a Bengal *kos* as 2¼ miles.

The Mughal *kos* averaged 4558 yards, that is more than 2⅝ miles and less than 2¾ miles. For remarks on this land measurement see *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, ii. 66-7, 272. See also *Journ of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, p. 141, n. 4.

25. For Shem Bridges, see *ante*, note 0. For a biography of Walter Clavell, who arrived in India in 1668 and succeeded Shem Bridges as "Chief" in "the Bay," see *Ind. Ant.* xxiv. 216. Clavell died 3rd August, 1677.

Edward Reade, who had married Mary, a daughter of Thomas Winter, brother of the turbulent Governor of Fort St. George, 1661-1668, had been in India since 1661, and was taken into the Company's service in 1669. At this date he was head of the factory at Balasore. For a notice of him and a list of MSS.

authorities whence the account was gleaned, see "Correspondence of Richard Edwards," in *Notes and Queries*, 12, S. iv. 321.

Gabriel Townsend was senior in service to both Clavell and Reade, having been elected factor in 1661. In 1670 he was "Fifth at Hughly and Eighth in the Bay." He returned to England in 1675. For a notice of his career in India, see *op. cit.* 12 S. iii. 471.

William Bramston was a seafaring man employed on the Company's sloops. Later he became an experienced pilot "Sufficiently Capable to have brought up any of the Ships [from Balasore] . . . through the midle Channell" [to Hūglī]. Unfortunately, he died in October 1679 (Letter from Bengal to the Court, Oct. 1679, *Fact. Rec. Misc.* vol. iii.).

26. See Bowrey's remarks on the "great Multitude of Portugals . . . in Hugly" and on the district where they dwelt (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 191).

27. Hūglī seems to have been originally part of the suburbs of Satgāon, the seat of Government of South West Bengal for more than two centuries, and the appellation had survived late enough for Marshall to be told of it.

28. For contemporary accounts of the English and Dutch factories at Hūglī, see Bowrey, *op. cit.* pp. 168-171; Streynsham Master, *op. cit.* i. 108, 325; ii. 40, 41, 47, 48, 92, 240, 266, 267, 356.

29. This was "about two miles out of Towne," according to Streynsham Master, i. 329. See also Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, i. 34.

30. Trivenī, the Terbony of R., 1774. *lit.* the "three braids," or streams, a place of pilgrimage, so called because in ancient days the rivers Ganges (Bhāgīrathī), Jamunā and Sarasvati, met here.

31. Mucktapore (unidentified) is mentioned as a depôt for goods by Clavell in his "Account of the Trade of Balasore" (Streynsham Master, ii. 86)

32. Sandalpore seems to be identical with the Santapore of Streynsham Master, i. 500; ii. 29, 35, a depôt for muslins at this period. It may be represented by the Somorah of R., 1774.

33. By "Mulmulls for Nainoes" Marshall means *malmal* and *nain-sukh*, *i.e.* muslins of varying thickness. The terms were borrowed by the English, and survive as "mull muslin" and "nainsook" to indicate thin cotton-goods.

34. Taptapore was evidently a suburb of Amboa, which does not appear on the modern maps. It is the Ambooa of R., 1774, and also of J. B. Tassin's *Atlas of the Ganges*, 1835

35. Streynsham Master (ii. 287) also mentions "Hur Nuddy, a small towne." Sir Richard Temple, in a note, suggests that the fields (*har*) around Nadiā may be meant. But Marshall's statement shows that "Hurnadie" (Harinadih), the "deer village," was 7½ *kos* from Nadiā and must therefore have been a separate place. It appears as Hurnaddy in R., *B.A.* xix.

36. Murghhapore and Sahmadugar represent the Mirzapour and Summutgur of R., 1774, and the Mirzapoor and Soomoodagurh of the *Indian Atlas Sheet* 120 of 1866. Sahmadgar also occurs as Sinadghur in Hedges, i. 39.

37. The junction of the Jalangī and the Bhāgīrathī, then known as the "Cossimbazar River."

38. Nadiā or Nabadwip, which gives its name to Nadiā District, on the west bank of the Bhāgīrathī. It is strange that Marshall has no comment on the religious and educational associations of this place, which would have been more likely to attract his attention than its commercial activities, especially since Nadiā is not at that date mentioned as a centre whence "Mulmuls" and "Cossas," *malmal*, and *khāssa*, fine muslin, were procured.

39. Gualbattan, cowherds' cattle-shed (*guālbathān*), a halting place.

40. Between Patkabarī and Madhupur, the course of the Jalangī has altered to an extraordinary extent since Marshall's time.

41. Long pepper, the fruit spike of the *Piper officinarum* and *Piper longum*, the latter indigenous in E. Bengal.

42. The site of "Hussanpore" has evidently shifted, as the latest *Survey Sheet* shows Hasanpur some five or six miles east of Surangpur.

43. *Kela gachhī*, grove of plantain trees, a halting place.

44. *Gaighāt*, cattle ford A "ferry" is marked on the *S.S.*

45. By Shāistah Khān's *parwāna* is probably meant the *nishān* of Shāh Shūjā', second son of Shāh Jahān, dated 1656 and confirmed by Shāistah Khān in 1672. For a printed version see Streynsham Master, ii. 22-24.

46. Marshall's "great towne" seems to be indicated by the extensive area of buildings near Jagobandhanpur shown on the old *Survey Sheet* of 1853-55.

47. Apparently the "Uddumpur" of Hedges, i. 40, 77.

48. Marshall's course up the Jalangī River can be traced from the 1 in. to the mile *Survey Sheets* up to Gorimari, some 8 or

9 miles from Jalangī, and up to the "Saddicankader" of R., *B.A.* xi. After that all that can be said is that he appears to have gone on up the channel represented on R., *B.A.* xi. by the "Culcully River" (now shown as the Sialmari on the latest *Survey Sheets*) till he entered the Ganges (Padda) to the east of Murcha (see Margang channel on *Survey Sheet*—evidently the channel of the Ganges in his day). The fact is that the face of the country has greatly changed in these parts since 1670.

49. ? Kalikapur. Apparently the "Colcapoor" of Hedges, i. 49, 89, 122. A trace of the name seems to survive in Rennell's "Culcully River" (*B.A.* xi.).

50 ? *Garhērhāt*, the market of the fort, probably a market-place near the old fort of Murcha (*B A.* xi.)

51. The Rājmahal Hills on the N.W. of Murshidābād District.

52. ? Shādī kā Rāmpur. Cf. Nāyapara Rāmpur (*S.S.*) about 4 m. S.E. of Bhagwāngola.

53. ? Kalinagar, a name surviving in the name of a *tola* and of an old river channel on the 1848-68 *Survey Sheet*, situated E. by N. of Bhagwāngola. The distance from Kāsimbāzār, 7 *kos* or 15¾ miles, fits in with this locality.

54. ? Hargopalpur. Evidently diluviated since Marshall's time.

55. The Aurengabad of R., *B.A* xv, and the Orangabath of Broucke's map.

56. Dougotchee (Dogāchī), marked "Dogutchy" on an old map in the British Museum (without date or publisher's name, but of *c* 1770), on the east side of the Ganges, about opposite to Furruckabad on R., *B.A.* xv. This is not the Jourgotchy of Rennell, which is probably the Towditch mentioned below, 22nd September, 1670. Shāh Shūjā' crossed the Ganges at Dogāchī, see Sarkar *Aurangzib*, ii. p. 242.

57. The fact that from near "Urriapore" the hills seemed to Marshall to be about 10 *kos* (=22½ miles) away indicates that he went up the old course of the Bhagirāthī to the east of the present course of the deep stream, skirting round near the site of the ruins of Gaur. He seems to have been unwell (cf. reference to ague) and so perhaps did not observe any remains —probably buried in *jangal* at the time. Most likely he turned off westwards up the old Pagla river towards Rājmahal. The total distance recorded between Downapore and Rājmahal (about 43 miles) also shows that his boat followed a circuitous route here, as the distance would be only about 25 miles by the

present course of the river, or the course of the river in Rennell's time.

58. Shāh Shūjā', Nawāb of Bengal and Orissa, who, with his followers, was slaughtered in Arakan in 1660. Only the ruins of the *zanāna* buildings of the palace now remain.

59. Of the "Banqueting house," or pavilion for spectators to watch regattas held in the lake, the garden (Phulbari), and the pipes by which water was brought from a reservoir connected with the lake, only ruins remain (see *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer*, p. 275). For an interesting contemporary description of Rājmahal and Shāh Shūjā's Palace see the account by Nicolas de Graaf, a surgeon in the service of the Dutch East India Company. De Graaf journeyed from Hūglī to Patna in 1670 shortly after Marshall. He spent a week in examining the buildings at Rājmahal, and his plan of the city faces p. 48 of his *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, published in 1719.

60. The "English house" was the building occupied by the factors of the E.I.Co. sent from Hūglī and Kāsimbāzār to superintend the coinage of the Company's bullion at the Mughal mint.

61. Puttahaw possibly represents Patthara, the "place of the stone." Cf. "Pilaar" on Broucke's map, and "Colonne" on the *Nouvelle Carte du Royaume de Bengale* (*Histoire Générale des Voyages*, 1751).

62. The "Bourgengel" of Broucke's map and the "Burrajunguli (*barā jangal*, great woods or waste) of Marshall's journey by palanquin in 1671.

63. Popolpore, Dellegola, Dolladee and Hardora, all probably diluviated since Marshall's day.

64. Gorre represents Taliagarhī, often shortened in the Muhammadan histories into Garhī = the Gorij of Lavanha's map (c. 1550).

65. The "house of stone," masjid and rocks refer to the rocks and remains at Pattharghattā. The "2 parcells" of rock mentioned below are the Colgong [Kahalgāon] rocks.

66. The Kharagpur Hills, the highest point of which is Māruk, 1628 feet above sea level.

67. Agalpore. This may be intended for Bhāgalpur, but in his return journey Marshall writes Boggulpore, and in his 1671 diary, when travelling by *pālkī*, he writes "Baugulpore" for Bhāgalpur. It is possible that in those days a branch of the Ganges, the remnant of which can be traced in the Ghogha *nāla*, passed round to the south not far from Agarpur (*S.S.*), and this latter may be Marshall's Agalpore (*r* and *l* being interchangeable).

68 Goura, ? Gaura, about 12 miles W.N.W. of Bhāgalpur, diluviated apparently by Rennell's time, but the name survives in the name of a *mauza* marked on the *S.S.*

69. De Graaf (p. 50) also describes the old stone bridge, and says that it had eight arches and an octagonal stone tower at each end.

70. The Goorgut Nulla of R., *B.A.* xv. It appears as a " large and deep Nullah passed with difficulty " at " Goorgaut " in a list of " Distances on the Patna road from Murshedabad " (*Orme MSS.* vol. lxvii., p. 55).

71. Evidently diluviated. Judging from Broucke's map and the names of places mentioned by De Graaf, the river curved round to the north between Sultanganj and Gogrī in those days.

72. The situation of these villages has much altered owing to changes in the courses of the rivers. Marshall sailed west from Jamālpur to a ' little town " about 6¾ miles. This was probably Mansi (*S.S.*), the Manci of De Graaf and Broucke.

73. By " the King " Marshall refers to Sultān Muhammad Shūjā', (Shāh Shūjā'), second son of Shāh Jahān, twice Governor of Bengal, who built himself a palace on the west side of the fort at Monghyr, overlooking the river, and spent a good deal of his time there. Marshall does not refer to the visit of the " Dutchmen," De Graaf and Oosterhoff, on this occasion, since it was not till about six months later that they were imprisoned at Monghyr. He gives an account of their misadventure when describing his journey by land to Monghyr in Chapter IV, where he has also further remarks on the city. See also De Graaf's description (*Voyages*, pp. 59-61).

74. Apparently diluviated.

75. Cotgola (*kāthgolā*, wood-store) was probably a temporary halting place.

76. Sūrajgarhī, the little Sūrajgarhā, probably a suburb of the latter.

77. The course of the Ganges has constantly changed between Sūrajgarhā and Mokāmeh, so the places touched at by Marshall (Fottarepore, Gehaumah, Sheeolee) have probably been diluviated long since.

78. By " toddy " [trees] Marshall apparently means *tār* or palmyra trees from which *tāri* or toddy was obtained.

79. Possibly *golā i-ghī* or *ghī* store.

80. Bunderbunna, the Bendar Bana of Broucke's map. It is not marked on the *S.S.* The name means the " monkey wood."

81. Of Fatuhā Buchanan Hamilton remarked in 1811 (*Buchanan MSS., Behar and Patna*, vol. iii., *Diary*, p. 5) that it was "for this country a large town, most of the houses clay, a great many tiled." Of the bridge he says (*loc. cit.*): "There had been a wooden bridge with very massy piers of bricks but some of them have given way."

82. Pūnpūn. This was an old branch of the Pūnpūn (now silted up), marked "Little Poonpoon R." on R., *B.A.* xv., some four miles above the main mouth of the Pūnpūn at Fatuhā, where the stone bridge referred to by Marshall was situated. It does not represent the present Pūnpūn which issues into the Ganges at Fatuhā.

83. The distance between Ja'far Khān's Garden and the English Factory at Patna is given as five miles in "Distances from Murshedabad on the Road to Patna," *c.* 1765 (*Orme MSS., India*, xvii. 4699), but this Factory building was not in existence in Marshall's time.

In 1811 Buchanan Hamilton says (*Buchanan MSS., Behar and Patna*, vol. iii. *Diary*, pp. 4, 6) that "Jaffier Khan's garden" was about two miles from "Vaikanthpur," that "it had been a kind of fortification surrounded by a wall strengthened by turrets and some buildings, part of which remain." He adds that the garden was about 1½ miles "to the Eastern Gate" of Patna.

84. The Company's warehouse in Patna. Their factory house was outside the city, at Singhiyā, on the opposite side of the Ganges, at this date.

85. Cuttarpore and Peeruddur seem to have been diluviated

86. Herraule. The "Herolly" of Capt. De Gloss's *Journal* under date 8-9 Decr. 1767.

87. Nuctissarony. Perhaps a local shrine.

88. The English factory at Jahānābād, near Singhiyā, was, as Marshall tells us, in his "Accompt of Pattana," drawn up in 1676 (printed in *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ec. Temple, ii. 88-90), north of Patna "about ten or twelve miles Extra Gangem."

89. On this statement Mr. Kaye remarks: "The rule employed is

$$\textit{latitude} = \textit{declination} + 90^\circ - \textit{meridian altitude}$$
$$= 22^\circ\ 45' + 20^\circ\ 40' = 25^\circ\ 25'.$$

The latitude of Patna is approximately 25° 36′ N."

90. For a good description of a *bajrā* see Buchanan Hamilton's remarks in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, i. 384, where he says that at Patna "a 16 oared boat has a crew of 19 men."

91. Bannia. The "Baniya or Bishenpur Basant" of Cunningham. See *Arch. Surv. India*, i. map facing p. 55.

92. For an account of Bhīm kā lāthī (Bhīma's club), the "Lion Pillar" of Bakhrā, see Cunningham, *op cit.* pp. 59-61.

93. Marshall is repeating garbled versions of stories that he had been told relating to the five Pāndavas, and especially Bhīmā.

94. Marshall seems to be describing the tomb of Mīr Abdu'llah. See Cunningham, *op. cit.* pp. 56-57.

95. In Chapter III, Diary of 19th September, the name is spelt "Sova Gee." Neither the garden in the suburbs of Patna nor the house at "Pente" appears to have had any connection with the Mahrāta chieftain.

96. Ibrahīm Khān, Nawāb, known as Asāf-ud-daula, second Bakhshi of Shāh Jahān, and later Wazīr under Aurangzeb.

97. *Pataılā, patelā*, a large flat-bottomed clinker-built boat. Compare Bowrey, p. 225: "All the Saltpeeter is Sent hence to Hugly in great flatt bottomed Vessels, of an Exceedinge Strength, which are called Patellas; each of them will bringe downe 4, 5, 6000 Bengala maunds." Bowrey has an illustration (p. 277) of the boat, and there is an excellent one in F. B. Solvyn's *Manners, Customs and Dresses of the Hindoos*.

III

DIARY—PATNA TO HUGLI

1670-1671

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 16-18 (reverse).

17 *September*. At 5½ clock morning went on board the Dingee [*dingy*, small boat, skiff] [and] departed from English Factory in Pattana, then scituate neare Shasti Cauns [Shāistah Khān's] garden, at North end of Pattana. Rowed with 10 oares and steared with one man more, and then arrived at Jaffer Cawns [Jaf'ar Khān's] Garden, being the South end of Pattana, where stayed untill 8¼ clock, when parted with Mr. Elwes, Second of Pattana.[1]

At 8½ clock departed thence and went to Punpund [Pūnpūn], being upon Right hand about 1 Course; there dined, and at 11½ clock went thence, and about 16 Course further came to a Barr [Bārh][2] where is on right hand a Milkees or Almesman's house,[3] very neat and handsome. From thence went 3 Course further by Sunset, then supped, and after went 6 Course further that night, our Course bein that day about East 29 Course.

18 *September*. In the morning, 5 clock, rowed thence, and when light, See Mungeer [Kharagpur] Hills plane, bearing from East to South. At 1 clock afternoon came to Mungeer [Monghyr], being 16

Course further. In all by water 45 Course and by land esteemed but 40 Course from Pattana, our true Course hither and 3 Course further being East, after South by East for 4 Course, when came to Gogligamiolpore [Gogrī and Jamālpur],[4] distant from Mungeere 7 Course. It lay on left hand and is a very pleasant place, by reason of many handsome topes [groves] of trees. This place by the River is reckoned halfe way betwixt Pattana and Rojamaul [Rājmahal]. From hence rowed 7 Course South and came to Jangeere [Jahāngīra],[5] thence steared East and East by South in the night—7 Course at Sunrise the 19th day, having 18th day rowed 37 Course. Mungeer by land is but 8 Course by Land [*sic*].

19 *September*. At sunrise the Sun bore East by South. At 7 clock came to Boggulpore [Bhāgalpur],[6] being 3 Course. At 8 clock 2 Course beyond, when see on head severall peeces of Hills and had lost the sight of the other Hills called Mungeer hills, these 4 Course being true about East South East. These Hills on head beare from East By North to South. These Hills are said to reach within 3 dayes jorney of the hill[s] which go from Ballasore.[7] At 12 clock came to these Hills North. After rowed North East By East. After past the Northmost hill, Which is the point of all the rest, steared South East By East to Pente [Pīrpainti], where came at 2½ clock afternoone. The towne is scituate on right hand under a pleasant little Hill,[8] on the top of which is a Muskeet [*masjid*], and at the side next the River a pleasant Bungelah [*banglā*, bungalow] here. Very many Tygers said to bee here. East point of Rojamaul hills bore East South East. Here G: T: [Gabriel Townsend] his

dog leaping out of the Budgerah [*bajrā*], would not come in againe, and so was left behind.

Here the Merbaar [*mīr-bahr*, custom or harbour master] came from the other side to us and desired something of us, but demanded not anything nor asked us for our Dustick [*dastak*]; ½ Course further is the house Sova Gee[9] lived in, scituated under the Hill on the right hand.

From hence 4 Course further rowed South East By South, when said hill appeared as before, South East By South, and a river came runing into Ganges from East from a towne scituate about ½ Course from Ganges amongst handsome topes of Trees. This river is very broad and I beleeve came not from the same fountaine Ganges doth.

At sunset went 1 Course further, after 2 Course further South, when came where the Company's 20 Patelloes[10] or Peter boats were. The Sun this night set within 3d. of West By South. This day wee had sailed in all about 48 Course.

20 *September*. When set out, the farthest Southerly point of the Hills bore South, wee being distant from Rojamaul [Rājmahal] about 4 Course. At 9¼ clock arrived in a Harbor over against Rojamaul, haveing rowed this 4 Course South this day. Presently [immediately] after arrived, rowed to Rojamaul, where went to English house, where found a Vokeele [*vakīl*, agent] which was sent thither by Mr. March[11] from Cossumbuzar.

21 *September*. Our Dusticks [*dastak*, pass] being got ready, at 1¼ clock afternoone departed thence and went to the Patelloes, where stayed that night.

22 *September*. First boots [boats] opened [set out] at 5½ clock morning. Here the Southerly hill bore South by West Westerly, the Northerly Hill North By West Westerly, and the middle of Rojamaul West By North. Wee rowed South 10 Course, then South East 4 Course to Towditch,[12] then South 2 Course, when 4 peeces of new hills, or else some of old hills, appeare, the South end bearing South West; then 1 Course South West, when came to an Anchor at 1¼ clock afternoone, and sent some little boats (which guided the Patelloes) before to find the depth of Sutee [Sūtī] river, to know whether it would be safe going that way for the Patelloes or not. At 3⅜ afternoone the boats opened and rowed one course further West, and there stayed that night. Here wee haveing advise that Sutee River was but 4 Covets or 2 yards[13] deepe, and Coclet,[14] &ca. saying some of their Patelloes drew 3½ Covets water, I thought it very daingerous to venture the Patelloes with the Company's Salt[peter] that wayes, and therefore acquainted G. T. [Gabriel Townsend] therewith, who after very many perswasions was willing they should go thorow the great River. So wee ordered them accordingly; for I had made it appeare to them that to go by the Great River was nigher way by 2 or 3 dayes at least, for that they had come from Pattana thither, which was 20 Course above halfe the way from Pattana to Hugly, and they had come thither in 5 dayes time, not reckoning their stay, therefore probably they might get to Hugly in 4 or 5 dayes more at most; and they said it would cost them 8 dayes to go by Sutee river. But I knew their desire was to go by Sutee that they might sell their Comminseeds

and Anniseeds at Cossumbuzar [Kāsimbāzār] where they pay noe Custome for them.

23 *September*. Opened at 5½ clock morning. Sun rise, East ½ Southerly Course South for ¼ Course to Donapore [Downapour, R., *B.A.* xv.] on right hand, then South South-East, East &ca. severall courses; 2¾ Course to Nourungobad [Aurangābād][15] on left hand, when entred into Sutee river, which goes East by South, the great River runing East, then severall courses, but true Course East South East 2 Course, when came to a towne called Sutee [Sūtī] on left hand, which gives the name to that River. At 9 clock came hither, which is a little towne. Here Sutee River is very narrow, not above 10 yards broad, and runs South South East, here being a branch running East which runs East into Ganges.

A little before wee came to enter into this narrow river, I charged Coclet who was the Chiefe Patello man (being in the Company's owne boat and go[ing] first), *not to go this way through Sutee River*, but G. T. [Gabriel Townsend] asking him againe if there [was] water enough, hee said, "Yes," so G. T. bid him then go that way, which hee was willing to obey, though I had charged him at his perrill to the contrary, and within ½ houre after one of the Patelloes was runn upon a Sand, which with very great difficulty (wee sending other boats to help her) got of[f] againe. Then, after severall windings for 7 Course, the true Course being about South, came to the River on left hand which runs up to Decca East, when Sutee River runs South By West, and now but 3 Course from Sutee by Land.[16]

Then severall Courses, 13 Course, the true Course

West By North, to Bulgutta[17] on right hand, [a] great towne, where formerly a Chowkee [*chaukī*, toll station]. Here nearest hills in sight, West By North East, ½ Northerly, but suppose the end of them, which see at 9 clock, to be South. Sun set West by North, ½ Northerly. Hence by land but 12 Course to Cassumbuzar [Kāsimbāzār]. At 10½ clock night set out againe, at [? and] at Sunrise n[ext] day had got 12 Course; true Course suppose to be South East.

Saturday 24 *September.* Sun rose East by South ½ Southerly. Severall Courses; 6 Course to Muxidavad [Mukhsusābād][18] on right and Left hand, being a very great towne in extent; true Course South East by East; then 4 Course further to Cassumbuzar, where at English Factory,[19] left hand, arrived at 12 clock, where stayed that night.

25 *September.* At 9 clock morning some Patelloes arrived at Cassumbazar, where Anchored, but wee presently [immediately] forced them away. Then 2 Course further South West on right hand, when came to a tree called Arbor de rayes, 130 yards about the bowes.[20] In the body therof I carved I. M. Here dine[d] after 8 Course severall wayes, but trew [course] South West, where over took the Patelloes at 7 clock n[ight]. At 12 clock night set out and at Sunrise got 12 Course further.

26 *September.* At Sunrise set out. Steared severall courses for 24 Course, but suppose true Course South, and at 7 clock arrived within 4 Course of Nuddea [Nadiā] where stayed.

27 *September.* At Sunrise came to Nuddea, being 4 Course. At 10 clock at Mur[za]pore,[21] where a river runs out of this to West and into Ganges.[22]

To Sandalpore,[23] 8½ Course, where 2 rivers come from Dacca ward North,[24] [? Hugly] river up towards Hugly runing West.[25] At 8 clock night arrived at Hugly [Hooghly, Hūglī] Factory, where stayed &ca.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16.

16 *October* 1670. At 4 clock morning went from Huglie in the *Madras* Pinnace,[26] and arrived in Ballasore [Balasore, Baleshwar] road 22th ditto at 5 clock night.

5 *November* 1670. Went from the *Happy Entrance*,[27] having dispatched her to the Coast at 6 clock morning.

7th November. At 10 clock, with much trouble, arrived on shore, being driven to leeward of Ballasore river about 3 Course, or 6 miles. At 5 clock afternoone arrived at Ballasore Factory, haveing gone about 12 miles on foot.

30 *December* 1670. At 2 clock afternoone went from Ballasore and came to Ramchandrapore[28] at 5 clock, and lay there that night.

31 *December.* Went about 10 Course further, and about 1½ Course before came to Pipley [Pīplī] wee stayed under a great Tree which had but one Trunk, and its branches was in Diameter 43 yards one way, and 41 the other, at least according to measure by pace.

At 4 clock came to Pipley where the Dutch have a handsome Factory. There we lay that night and all New years day.[29]

2 *January* 16$\frac{70}{71}$. At 8 Clock morning went from Pipley. Went about 10 Course and stayed under a tree that night; ? at 4 clock stayed.

3 *January.* At break of day set out, and at 2 clock afternoone came to Kendoa [Kenduā],[30] where the Budgero with 20 oares was ready for us. At 9 clock

night wee went thence and rowed about 3 course, when come to Kedgeree [Khajurī],[31] which is the entrance into Huglie River.

4 *January.* At 6 a clock when the Tide served, wee rowed towards Hugly, and that night came to a place where are many Tygers. I s[aw] the impressions of 3 or foure severally which had been there that day.

5 *January.* At 1 clock morning came from thence and at 5 clock night arrived at Huglie.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

9 *February* 167$\frac{9}{0}$. When the Moone was past the Meridian in the night and was about 45d. high, then was Mrs. Vincent delivered of a Sonn.[32] I suppose it was about 11h. 15m. night. This was also the first night that Mr. Billingsley was married.[33]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15.

15 *March* 167$\frac{9}{0}$. About 6½ clock night, when the Moone was full, which was when shee was about 6d. below the horizon, shee suffered almost, if not a totall, Eclipse. The Evening was cloudy so could not well see her till was about 4d. high, and when shee was about 7d. high, she was half Eclipsed, and when shee was 13½ degrees high, the Eclips was over. I observed in my Tube the most part of the Eclipse, and when the greatest part was over I observed the darke part of the Moone, which last received light, to be much darker, as it received the light, than the other which had first received it, and could not believe it was the darkish part which wee ususally see in the Moon, but thought it had beene some unusuall spots, for twas so dark that without the Tube I could not sensibly distinguish it from the dark part which had first been enligh[te]ned, that it seemed like a cloud

before it. This darkish part, which was so long before it was cleare, reached to ⅓ of the diameter of the Moone, and was sensibly darker than the rest untill the Eclipse was over, after which in little time twas as cleare as any of the rest of the darkish part of the Moone.

This observation I tooke in Huglie which lies neare Satagam [Satgāon] upon a branch of the River Ganges in Lattitude 22d. 40m.[34] Senior Van Leen, the Dutch Fiscall,[35] was with mee when I tooke this observation and said that hee had an Almanack dated at Holland which said That at Amsterdam the Eclipse would not bee seene there, but Easterly at 11h. 45m. noone would begin at that time. I afterwards see the same Almanack which confirmed mee in the same, which said would happen 25th March new Stile, which is 15th old. According to these Braminies [Brahmans] Account, the Eclipse began when the Moone was 25½d. below the horizon, which was about 4h, and 22m., and ended at 7h., so that substract 4h. 22m. from 11h. 45m., the difference is 7h. 23m., which makes the difference in Longitude 110d. 45m., for the Braminies say the Eclipse began 4 Gurries before and ended 2½ Gurries[36] after night. At Pipley by the mouth of Ganges the variation is 7d. 23m.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 16-16a.

29 *March* 1671. Upon the 29th March 1671 (which was a great day of pennance amongst the Hindoos), I see severall men and one woman throw themselves downe about 2½ yards upon broad and somthing sharp irons, 6 or 7 of which irons being stuck into a peece of board with their edges a little bending from the persons that fell with their brests

upon them, which with their weight they bended and laid flat to the wall with the force of their fall. They stuck up from the board about 8 inches. The board was laid upon a pillow and supported by men with towells; also men held towells for the persons feet to fall upon. After severall had throwne themselves downe thus, they suffered their tongues to be boared thorow with an iron, which was at one end about one inch [and] about 8 at the other end, and the rest of it but small; but it was about 1 yard long. After that the same persons suffered their armes to be stuck full of iron needles about 1 foot long and ½ inch thick, the needles being run thorow their skin and stuck therein, and also their skin on their breasts and back being stuck full of like needles, and thorow each ear one, which ran thorow their back skin and pinned their eares thereto. I numbred the needles on one arme on one man, and there were 60 needles stuck in it, so that I believe hee had stuck in his skin at least 200 needles.

And 2 great iron hookes about ¾ inch thick run thorow their Backes and could not be run each of them into less than 1½ inches of their flesh and skin; and by these hookes (with a cloth tyed to preserve them from falling if the flesh and skin should breake) were with a pulley lifted from the ground about 14 or 16 foot, and was swung swiftly 3 or 4 times about in a circle, about 28 or 30 foot about, by bamboos which were placed across a post stuck into the ground. But all that swung so by the back had not needle[s] stuck into their skin. And I see one man that had so much confidence in the strength of his flesh and skin, that with 2 hookes through the flesh and skin of his

back, and 2 through the skin and flesh of his breast, hee ventured to swing without any cloth tyed to preserve him from falling in case the flesh and skin should breake.

When their tongues are run thorow, they put a leafe above and another below the hole, and make no more of it, nor seeme more concerned at it, nor for their falling upon the irons, for I see one man do it twice, and presently after each other. Nor are they appearingly concerned for their swinging by their backs, but do it merrily on their owne accord. I see one woman swing so.

They generally make a vow before That if they have children recover of a fit of sickness or the like, then they will do this pennance, which afterwards they performe. I beleeve I see about 40 do this pennance at Hugly then.[37]

22. For the river running "to West," see Broucke's map, and R., *B.A.* vii. ("Bonka N.").

23. See Chapter II, note 32.

24. The "Chournee Cr[eek]" of R., *B.A.* xix. may be a remnant of one of the rivers coming "from Dacca ward North."

25. See R., *B.A.* vii., which shows a stream going west from near Mirzapur, and then turning south. In Marshall's time an old channel seems to have gone round this way to Hūglī.

26. One of the Company's sloops employed in unloading their ships in Balasore Road and carrying goods from Balasore to Hūglī.

27. The *Happy Entrance*, with five other East Indiamen, reached Fort St. George from England in July 1670. See *O.C.* 3446; *Corres. of Richard Edwards*, in *Notes and Queries*, 12 S., iii. 293 n. (May 1917).

28. See Chapter II, note 5.

29. Pīplī was formerly an important port near the mouth of the Subarnarekhā on the Orissa coast, but the silting up of the river led to its decay, and no trace remains of the European settlements there. The actual site of the place, indeed, is uncertain. The Portuguese settled there in 1599, and Shāh Jahān granted permission to the English to erect a factory in 1634, but there is no evidence of its construction. From the fact that Marshall stayed at the Dutch factory in 1670 it seems clear that the English had no permanent settlement at Pīplī at this date. See *Bengal District Gazetteers, Balasore*, pp. 204-205; Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 162, n. 2.

30. The Kindua of Broucke's map. The village of Kenduā is on the road from Contai to Rasūlpur, and is now about three miles from the mouth of the Rasūlpur river, but not far from an old river channel, which may be the channel Marshall rowed along. Yule's surmise (Hedges' *Diary*, iii. 207) that Kontai and Kenduā are identical is incorrect, since Contai, a corruption of Kāntī, is much farther than 3 *kos* from Khajurī, while Kenduā is approximately that distance from it.

31. Both villages, Kenduā and Khajurī, are named from trees.

32. Mary, wife of Matthias Vincent, then Second at Hūglī. He succeeded John March as Chief at Kāsimbāzār in 1671. For an account of Vincent's services and his "interloping" practices see Streynsham Master, ii. 339, n.

33. John Billingsley, who sailed to India with Marshall in 1668, served the Company at Hūglī and Balasore. He was one of the

earliest victims of the epidemic to which Marshall succumbed in 1677. See *Corres. of Richard Edwards,* in *Notes and Queries,* 12 S. v. 34 (Feb. 1919).

34. On Marshall's comments as above, Mr. Kaye notes as follows: "Eclipse of moon at Hūglī 15 March 1670-1. Marshall gives the following particulars:

	Position of Moon relative to horizon.	Time recorded.
Eclipse began -	$-25\frac{1}{2}°$	4h. 22m. p.m. or 4 *ghatīs* before sunset.
Full moon - -	$-6°$	6h. 30m. p.m.
Half eclipsed -	$+7°$	
Eclipse over -	$+13\frac{1}{2}°$	7h. om. p.m.

"Latitude of Hūglī given in text, 22° 40′ N., is roughly correct. For longitude, 110° 45′ from ? Amsterdam or some place east of Amsterdam is given. It is actually about 88° 24′ east of Greenwich! As usual Marshall's data are too ambiguous to work upon."

35. "Senior Van Leen" is Joan van Lune, Fiscall, or Superintendent of Police. He is one of the signatories of a letter from Hūglī to the Dutch East India Company dated 11 August, 1670, N.S (*Dutch Transcripts, B*, xxix. No. 756, I.O. Records).

36. *Ghari,* an Indian measure of time of 24 minutes, the eighth part of a *pahar* or "watch," of which there were 8 in the twenty-four hours, measured by a clepsydra or water-clock.

37. For full details of, and authorities to be consulted on, the custom of hook-swinging among the Hindus, see *Barbosa,* ed. Longworth Dames, i. 220 and note; *Diaries of Streynsham Master,* ed. Temple, ii. 164 and note; Frazer, *Golden Bough,* pt iii. (*The Dying God*), 278 and note

IV

DIARY—HUGLI TO PATNA

1671

ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY FROM HUGLIE TO PATTANA PER JOHN MARSHALL, BEGUN UPON WEDNESDAY MAY LE 3D, A[T] 6¾H. MORNING AND FINISHED 23TH DITTO AT 8H. MORNING 1671.

Harl. MS. 4254, folio 19-27 (reverse).

3 *May* 1671. Wednesday morning at 6¾ clock morning set forward from Huglie. Mr. Vincent and Mr. Bagnold[1] accompanying mee 1½ Course, I being fitted with a Pallankeene and 8 Caharrs [*kahār*, palanquin bearer] to carry it, 3 Cahars to carry my provisions and 1 to carry my Gunn, 1 Mussallman [Musalmān] and Cook and 6 Peons[2] allowed mee by Mr. Vincent, who delivered to mee 150 Rupees on the Company's account for my way charges, and agreed with the Peons and Caharrs for 5 rupees per peece for the jorney and 6 rupees to the Mussallman and Cook.

So forward to Satagan [Sātgāon],[3] 2 Course. To Bigsee,[4] 2 Course. To Hautgaggechapore,[5] 4 Course, where stayed under a great tree this night, a little before Sunset a very great storme happening. This dav passed over Satagam River and another near Bigsee.[6] This day travelled in all - - - 8 Course.

4 *May*. At break of day set forward and went to Amboa,[7] 2 Course, leaving the greatest part of the towne on the right hand. This is a very large towne lying upon the river. To Meigapore, 4½ Course, beyond which about ¼ Course ferried over a River which is distant from the River which runs into Ganges about 1 Course. To Summudgur,[8] 1½ Course. To Cubbadgepore [? Kubjapur], 2½ Course. Here dined under a tree, and about 5 clock afternoon, when ready to set out, a great storme happened and a violent wind which overset my empty Pallenkeene upon 4 mens shoulders, as they were carrying it to the Surray [*sarāī*, inn]. Went further by Moonlight, 4 Course, and lay in the field.

Travelled this day - - - - 14½ Course

5 *May*. At break of day set forward to Godgepore [Gazypour, R. 74],[9] which lies by the side of the River which goes to Cossumbuzar; 2 Course further, ¼ Course, ferried over ditto River. To Agdea [Agradwip],[9] ¼ Course. To Cossalpore [Cosalpour Gaut, R. 74], ¼ Course. To Atchittea [Asāchhia], 2 Course. To Bissercole [Basarkhola], ½ Course. To a Dry ditch, ¼ Course. To Jodpore, ¼ Course. To Pollossee [Plassey, Palāsi], 1 Course.

A little before came here, came to Cossumbuzar river againe. This [Plassey] is a great towne of thatcht houses and scituate on the River. To Sheakfridcaudurcaa,[10] 2 Course. To Doudpore [Dādpur], 1 Course. Here lay this night by a Surray [*sarāī*], having since left Pollassee travelled not far from the River.

This day - - - - - - - 10 Course.

6 May. At break of day set forward. To Buddooa,[11] 1 Course. Here passed by a great Surray and under a stone gatehouse. To Sicco,[12] 2½ Course. To Banditchee,[13] 1½ Course, where left the Rojamaul [Rājmahal] road on right hand and went over the fields towards Cossumbuzar [Kāsimbāzār],[14] being 1 Course, where arrived at 10½ clock morning. This day travelled thorow aboundance of fields of Mulberry trees, scarce any of which above one yard high. This day in all travelled 6 Course.

Arrived 10h. morning, So that, according to this account, the distance betwixt Huglie and Cossumbuzar should bee but 38½ Course, but tis always esteemed 40 Course, the difference arising from not reckoning the length of the towne passed thorow.

Memorandum. The way betwixt Huglie and Cassumbuzar is most thorow fields, not much wood.[15]

8 May. At 6 clock night Mr. March and I went to the Dutch Factory, where Senior Vanburdg [Verburg] was chiefe [and] Senior Fensall 2d.[16] Supped there about 8 clock upon the Dutch Factory Tarras, where Mr. March and I did partly resolve after 3 years to go to England together overland, and thereupon shaked hands. At 11 clock night returned back againe to the English Factory. The Dutch Factory is made of brick, very large, and hath handsome gardens belong[ing] to it.[17] It is about a mile from the English Factory.

Tuesday 9 May. At 8 clock morning came from Cossumbuzar. Went a little to the Westward and passed over Cossumbuzar river. To Dera,[18] ½ Course. To Poee,[18] ¼ Course. To Ditto River againe, ¼ Course. Went by the river side 1 Course, when passed over.

To Muxidavad [Makhsūsābād], ½ Course. This is a very great towne of thatcht houses. Here to be bought silks [in] great quantities, being the chiefe place in Bengall for them. Here Oftoas [*aftāba*] and Chellamchees [*chilamchī*] &ca. brass ware, Girdles and Sashes [*shash*, turban] which come from Bonnares [Benares]; here handsome shops. Here bought 2 Nellegree stone cups.[19] Here dined in a Garden.

To Nehilla,[20] 1 Course from first entrance into Muxidavad. Here many little townes round about. To Bubbunuda Surray, 1½ Course. To Bowdee Surray,[20] 2½ Course, where lay in the highway neare the Surray. This day - - - - 8 Course.

10 *May*. At break of day set out. To Pipla Surray,[21] 2 Course. To Cottickpore,[21] 2 Course. To Comray [Kamra Sarāī], 2 Course. Here many topes [*top*, grove] of trees and severall little townes. Here passed under a stone gatehouse. Here a little stone house.

To Cossumbuzar river,[22] ½ Course, where passed over, being almost quite dry. Here the river meets with the river Ganges, now distant from Sutee [Sūtī][23] towne, 3 Course. This is very pleasant way.

To Colloopore,[23] ½ Course. To Cutwallpore Surray,[23] ½ Course. Here dined in a garden or under a row of Mango trees, where many poor people stayed till the heat of the day was over. They came from Pattana.[24] Here I gave many Cowries away. Here one old woman came to mee laughing and yet beging. I told her shee that was so merry could not want any thing, but shee replyed that shee rejoyced to see mee because shee knew I would give her somthing, which I did.

To Coondapurra,[25] 1 Course. Here a neate tope of trees on the left hand. To Norungabad [Aurangābād], 1 Course. This the first towne in which pice generally goe [are current]. Tis a very great towne of thatcht houses, which are very stragling.[26] I see not above 2 or 3 Stone houses in it. A little before came hither passed over a dry ditch in which Ganges flowes in the floods. Passed thorow the towne which is at least 1 Course thorow, and lodged in the field neare the Surray. This day travelled 10½ Course.

11 *May.* About break of day set out. To Ganges river, 1 Course. To Cotwolpore,[27] 1 Course. To Gualgane,[27] 2 Course. To Jalmorree,[27] ¼ Course. This a great towne of thatcht houses; the 3 last Course the way most amongst sedge and reeds.

To Dunnapore,[28] 3 Course. To Cojakissore,[29] 2 Course. This two Course left the River; here dined. Here first see Rojamaul [Rājmahal] hills, being hazy. The middle of them bore West.

To Gobundas Surray,[30] 1 Course; this town no trees; here 1 Tank. To a great steep stone bridge, 2 Course, upon which may see Ganges on Right hand about ½ Course of. This is over a dry ditch, which suppose is filled in the raine times by the water which comes from the Hills.

To Dogutchee,[31] 1 Course, where passed tho[row] the towne and lay in the field near the Surray [*sarāī*]. This l[ast] 3 or 4 Course the way most thorow reeds and sedge; here a broad branch of Ganges but almost dry.[32] This day - - - - - 11 Course.

12 *May.* To Seregur,[33] 1½ Course, Emillea,[33] 1½ Course. To Woodowa[33] and Puttowra,[33] 1 Course. Here a great Cowkedar [*chaukīdār*] who watcheth

that no goods go from Rojamaul [Rājmahal] to Cassumbuzar without a Dustick [*dastak*, pass]. Hee would have had somthing of mee; but by reason hee told mee it was a custome for Englishmen that travelled that way to give him somthing, and that if I would not hee would stop what goods came that way, Therefore I would give him nothing, because I would breake that custome and extortion.

This day came most of the way by a small river, which wee here passed over, beeing very shallow. Hard by this place are 3 or 4 small hills. To Beallgotchee,[34] 1 Course. To Serdarricars garden,[34] 1 Course; here staid a little while. To Rojamaul [Rājmahal] where arrived in English house at 9 clock.[35] This day 7 Course, and in all from Cassumbuzar

36½ Course.

ROJAMAUL

13 *May*. This day, beeing I could not get out a Dustick [*dastak*, permit] before night, having not taken out one yesterday because 'twas Fryday when the Durbar [*Darbār*, court] sitteth not, I went in the Morning to Sasujas [Shāh Shūjā'] garden, in which are 5 Quadrangles, each (except the 4th) inclosed with brick and stone wall and houses, in which are some very pleasant and coole roomes, the bigest Quadrangle about 200 yards long and 80 yards broad; the 2d 130 long and 80 broad, which is the Maul [*mahal*] for women; the 4th 100 long and 80 broad. This not walled at the furthest end, but theres a great poole of water; the other for women stands also by ditto poole. The 5th is at the entrance in, and is about 50 yards long and 50 broad.[36]

COYNEING RUPEES

Here stayd till about 3 clock, when went to the Tanksall [*tankasālā*, *tahsāl*, *taksāl*, mint] where Rupees are coyned. In the way thither happened a blast of wind which had like to have overset my Pallenkeene. I see them make, but not stamp, Rupees; but the stamp is broad, beeing cut in steele, and haveing the characters on a rupee in 5 places cut upon the Rupee (*vizt.*), upon the middle, and round about 4; so they ly the Rupee upon the middle and another stamp upon the rupee, and so stamps both sides at once.

This towne of Rojamaul is at least 2 or 3 Course long.[37] The streets are many of them paved with cobble stone, but now much broken as is the towne demolished.

Sunday 14 *May*. At 6 clock morning left Rojamaul and went to Mogullonneechuck,[38] ¾ Course. To Nowady [Nawadih], ¾ Course. To Leorpahart,[39] ½ Course; here came to Ganges. To Sobittapore,[40] 1 Course; here left ditto river and turned up towards the hills. To Bonarraspore,[41] 2 Course. To Moharradipore,[41] ½ Course. To Mussahaur [Mussaw],[42] 1 Course; now at the end of the westermost hills which were first in sight, and others appeare; the last Course came near the Hills, about ½ Course from the bottome of them.[43] To Harrechurnpore,[44] ½ Course. To Burrajungull,[45] 1 Course.

This towne stands upon the side of a Hill on the top of which is a Musseet [*masjid*, mosque]. 'Tis close by the River Ganges and almost all Surray [*sarāī*, inn]. I beleeve there are 200 sevrall roomes in it, every roome esteemed enough for 4 persons, who pay for

one nights lodging in it 1 pice or $\frac{1}{28}$ Rupee amongst them.[46] The Surray is all thatched and the roomes like hogsties. The ground on which the Surray [stands] is let to the Natives who build upon it. My Landlady paid for the roome in which I lodged, and for 4 more, 5 pice per month. The 5 roomes were in all about 100 square yards.

This towne is a very strong place, having Ganges on the East and the hills on the west, and woods almost round about. Here are the ruins of old Forts and bulwarks. None can pass from Rojamaul [Rāj-mahal] by land towards Pattana but thorow this towne, where every person receives a chaup[47] upon a cloth before can pass, but may without a Chaup pass from Pattana to Rojamaul. This day much raine. Here many Deer and wild cocks and henns.

This day travelled - - - - - - 8 Course.

15 *May*. Before Sunrise set out from the Surray, but were stopped at the Gate by the Nabobs peons in whose Jaggeer[48] this is, and was forced to returne to the Chowkee [*chaukī*] and (it raining) I went againe into the Surray, having sent my Dustick taken out at Rojamaul to the Governor, who kept it about an houres time, when put upon one of the Peons hand-kerchers 21 chops, which were for my selfe, 6 peons, 8 Caharrs [kahār], 4 Coolies, with two Doolies [*doli*, covered litter] and 1 man with my Gun, and 1 Cook and 3 other Chaups for my Pallankeene and 2 Doolies.[49] The chaup is only the impression of a seal ruped [*sic*, rubbed] over with red stuff. I gave to the Jemmedar[50] who brought the Chaup and to the Governor, 1 rupee, and to their servants, 1 rupee.[51]

I stayed in the Surray by reason of the raine about

2 houres, and went againe to the gate, where was againe stopped by ditto Peons, who said I should not pass except I would give them somthing; so I sent my chopped [stamped] clout to the Governor, who sent it to me againe by a Moor [Muhammadan], who desired mee not to be angry. I told him I was not, but was resolved, if I stayd there a month, I would not give the Peons who stopped mee one cowry, because they told mee except I would, I should not pass. So the Moore gave mee the chopped clout and desired mee not to take notice of any abuse, for it was the Peons fault; so because hee was so civill, being a person of quality, I told him, if hee would send his servant with mee to the Doolies gon before, in which was my knives, I would send him one. Hee sent his servant, who went about 3 Course before [and] overtook the Doolies, when sent him a horn-hafted knife, and gave the servant 1 pice for his pains.

To Salamannag,[52] ½ Course. To Dowlutka Surray,[52] 1½ Course. To Bobhunear Surray,[52] 2 Course. To ? Away,[52] when left one hill[53] on the Right hand, 1 Course. Neare this place, seeing Deer under the hills, I went to shoot, but could not find them here under the hills.

To Sasujas [Shāh Shūjā'] Castle or house under the side of a high hill, 1⅜ Course. I went into it, in which are 3 little Courts and many little roomes, and a good Delaun [*dālān*, apartment] in the middle, and at each end a round Turret with 3 windowes in each for Cannon. Above is roome enough for 70 or 80 Cannon, and twice so many small Gunns or Musquets. This Castle stands upon the side of the Hills very pleasantly.[54]

To Gurree Surray,[55] ⅛ Course. At this place

expected to be asked for my chopt clout, but was not, now having come this day 7 Course, scarce any time above 1 mile from the hills. This very pleasant way. Here passed under a gate; here a branch of the great River. Further, 1 Course, when left 2 or 3 hills on Right hand and rest on left, runing South. Here exceeding pleasant way for Topes of trees and great trees. A little further passed over a dry ditch, over which a new bridge was building. To Fuckeerkabaug,[56] 2⅞ Course.

To Peallapore [Pialapur], ⅛ Course, where lay this night in a Surray, where one of Shasticawns [Shāistah Khān's] horsemen presented mee with a peece of excellent fat goat raw, and a water mellon, and I sent him almost a quart of Ballasore double stilled Arrach [*'arak*, spirit], and ½ of his water mellon with some Sugar to it. This day travelled in all - 11 Course.

Tuesday 16 *May*. To Sultanka Surray,[57] 2 Course. To little hill on left hand, 1 Course. A little before came to it, a way runs up on the right hand. Opposit to this hill, about one Mile, are 3 or 4 little, or rather one great, but not very high, hill, to which westwards is another hill ½ Course distant from them. Here the hills seeme farr of and the furthest West By South, and all in severall pieces or hills.[58] To another hill on left hand, 1½ Course, on which is scituate on the top a Mussett [*masjid*] and severall tombs. The hill is full of severall Stones, but before [and] betwixt Rojamaul and this place I did not see any rock or great stones on the hills, which seeme to bee all wood, grass and sandy soyle. Now about ½ Course from Ganges.

To Colgaut [Colgong, Kahalgāon *ghāt*], ½ Course. This is scituated in a very pleasant place for trees, and

by a branch of the great River, in the middle of which branch, by the towne, are two hills of rocks, at the tops of which are carved tops artificially done. There is also another hill of rock on the other side of ditto branch of river neare the other two. On the middle of the 3 is a house built. These hill rocks are now about 20 yards above the water, and in the freshes [freshets, flood] times the water runs betwixt them with violent force, they being not distant each from other above 20 yards.[59]

Further, ¼ Course, where passed over a dry ditch.[60] Here the hills appeare high but farr of. To another, or part of the same, dry ditch, which passed over, 1¾ Course. Further, 1 Course, when came to the great river. To Sellerpore,[61] 1 Course; all these 4 last Course, fields of reeds &ca. To Allepore,[61] 1 Course; here a Garden. To Borrarree [Barārī],[61] 1½ Course; here very pleasant for topes of trees and a good garden of Mango trees set all in rowes in Squares very handsomly. Here the hills appeare at East By North and South Westerly to West.

To Mohuddechuck [? Mohiuddinchak], 1 Course. To Baugulpore,[62] ½ Course. These 3 or 4 last Course exceeding pleasant.

About this towne aboundance of Toddy [*tār*] trees, and gardens of Mango trees. This is a very great towne of thatcht houses and tis neare the river. Here lay in the Surray yard, but could not within the roomes by reason of smoake. Bought here a young Holwan,[63] which cost 8 pice, 26 of which pice go for one Rupee.[64] This a place for bowes and arrows to be bought at, and also neat hubble bubbles.[65] This day travelled 13 Course.

17 *May*. Before break of day set out. To Champ,[66] ½ Course. A little further passed over a dry ditch. Here the hills in sight, the furthest bearing West. To Chitcheroul,[67] 2½ Course. Here came against the hills which yesterday morning bore West, which hills are now on left hand, about ½ Course. To Massee [Maheshī], 1½ Course. To Nowadah [Nawada], 1 Course. Here stayed in a garden of Mango trees. Here happened a very sudden and great storme of wind and much raine for about 2 Gurries [*gharī*]; after was cleare againe. A great many hills appeared which I see not before, some exceeding and appearing very farr of South, the furthest. To Musbee [Masdī],[68] ½ Course; this towne great, and on both sides the road, which are high, and haveing a bank on each side, which seemes to be formerly artificiall, beeing full of bricks. To Sujapore [Sūrjapur], ½ Course; here by Ganges. To Jangere [Jahāngīrā],[69] ½ Course. This towne lies upon Ganges, a very great towne of thatcht houses. Here the hills appeare from North West By North to South East, most part Hills, but some South very farr of. These 3 last townes seeme as one continued towne. Passed thorow the towne and went further ¼ Course, neare the ruins of an old stone house upon the River side, where under a Tree lay this night. This day travelled - - - - 8 Course.

18 *May*. To Gurguttee [Ghoraghāt], ⅛ Course. To Catchagola,[70] 1⅞ Course. Here many Lattees [*lathī*] or hee Bamboes to be bought, great ones 4 for a pice, or 28th part of Rupee, but they are not of so good a cast as are at Pattana, for these will never bee red though never so much rubbed with oyle.[71]

To Colleanepore [Kaliānpur],[72] 1½ Course. Here passed over a stone bridge of 3 Arches, and at every corner of the bridge is a little watch house. This bridge is over a small ditch neare a piller, under which was buried a man. To Codulcuttah [Coordracutta],[72] 1 Course. To the bottome of the hills, beeing all Rocky, 1¼ Course. Here left 4 or 5 hills on Right hand.

To Nowagurree [Nauagarhi], ¼ Course. Here left the high way and turned up the right hand towards the Kings house in Mungere. To a tomb in the high way, ½ Course. To Mungere [Monghyr, Mungēr], 1 Course, where arrived at 10½ clock morning.

I went to the Kings house, over the bridge and within the first gate with my pallenkeene, and wolked to the other gate, but was there stopped and not suffered to go within. At each side of the gate sat severall Moors [Muhammadans] as in a Durbar [*darbār*]. Within this gate I see 2 Elephants carved in stone very large and handsomely. Upon the back of one was carved a boy handsomly.[73]

The Moores told mee that the reason why I must not go within the house to see it was because 2 of the Dutchmen had beene there and were admitted in to see the house, and they took out pens and paper and writ downe every place how long and how broad they were, and how high the house was and every turning in it, and how many Cannon and other guns might be placed in it. The Moores asked them what they writ and why, who answered that their Directore at Hugly[74] ordered them to take in writeing an Account of it so as they had done. The Governor of the towne understanding this, clapped the two Dutchmen up in

prison for 2 months till they sent to the Nabob of Pattana, and hee to the King about it. So the Nabob sent for the 2 Dutchmen in irons, who were sent to him by water in a boat. The Nabob would not let them go (saying they were spies or thieves and intended to undermine the Kings house or Fort) untill they gave him 1000 Rupees, which did, and were released, and afterwards went to Bengall, when againe passed thorow Mungeer being about 2 months since.[75]

So being denied sight of the Fort, I went hence, and passing thorow the towne, a great Moor [Muhammadan] siting at his house asked who I was and my name, and the Peons told him I was an Englishman and my name Mr Marshall, which he repeated after them very plane, and I think writ it downe. I passed thorow the towne and went about ¼ Course into a Garden, and towards night the sky much threatned raine, so I putt my Pallankeene under a little thatcht hovell in the Garden, which was not so long as my Pallenkeene, and there lay this night.

This day travelled - - - - 8 Course.

From Rojamaul hither 48 Course, but its esteemed 50 Course.

Fryday 19 *May*. Before break of day set out hence to Dackera,[76] 1½ Course. To Singee [Singhiyā], 1½ Course. To Sibcoon [Sibkund], 8 Course. To Loggowah [Lagma], ⅛ Course. To Bohay Surray [Bāhā Chaukī], ¼ Course. To Obgee [Abgīl], 2 Course. Here left Ganges. To Lodowra [Nadaura], 1 Course. To Soorggurra [Sūrajgarha] Surray, 1 Course; this very pleasant way for topes of trees. Here lay in the Surray.

This day travelled - - - - 8 Course.

20 *May*. At 3 clock morning set out, and within ½ Course passed over a branch of Ganges,[77] and a little after passed over it againe, and passed over severall sands. To Ney Surray,[78] 2 Course. To Jentea [Jaitpur], a little on left hand road, 4 Course. Here see hills appeare South West ½ West, and the other end East South East, but twas very hazy.

To Dunira [Dumrā], 1 Course; these 6 Course no trees, passing most by River side, where see very great number of dead corps.[79] To Merassee [Marānchī], 1 Course. To Hatchedo [Hathidah], 1 Course. To Durriapore [Dariapur], 1 Course. Here staid in a great garden of Mango trees,[80] where lay this night. These 3 last Course very pleasant for trees, &ca. About 10h. morning passed by a Cossid (*qāsid*, messenger] from Mr. [Job] Charnock &ca. towards Huglie, of which I had no advise till gone.

This day travelled - - - - - 10 Course.

21 *May*. To Muckeya [Mokameh],[81] 2 Course. To More [Mor],[81] 1 Course. To Mucksa [Mekra], 1 Course. To Cundaureck [Punārakh],[81] 1½ Course. To Bohr [Bārh], 2½ Course; this a great towne having in it severall stone houses. All this day neare Ganges. Passed by 4 or 5 dead corps in the road; a very pleasant road. Here I was profered a Slave of 12 years old to be sold by his fathers and owne consent for ½ Rupee, but beeing so old and a Sheak Mussulman [Shekh Musalmān], I would not buy him, but gave him 4 pice and sent him away. Here fine rice 3 pice per seer and 33½ pice per Rupee.[82] Here had a great storme but no raine. Here lay in a Surray [*sarāī*], where a sad noise of poor starved people, who I thought would have pulled all my

where stood in water to the ancles and in all the raine, and after went into my Pallenkeene againe, in which (by reason of my wax cloth) was not altogether so wett. Here stayed about 2 houres and then set forward againe, and went to Hodgipore [Hājīpur], where sent my things to Surray [a *sarāī*, inn] and rid to Singee [Singhiyā], where arrived about 3 clock afternoon. This day - - - - - - - 8 Course.

The usuall Account of the way betwixt Hugly and Pattana is (*vizt.*)

To Amboa 10 Course, Nimda[94] 10 Course, Cussaldea[94] 10 Course, Cossumbuzar 10 Course -	40
To Piplea 10, Norungabad 9, Dogutchee 9, Rojamaul 9 - - - - - - - - - -	37
To Burrajungall 9 Course, Gurree 7 course, Colgan 10, Baugalpore 8, Jangere 8, Mungere 8 - -	50
To Sugegerra 9, Durreapore 12, Bahr 8, Gunsoorpore 8, Pattana 9 Course - - - - - -	46
Thence to Singee - - - - - - - -	8
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NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1. John Bagnold (or Bagnall), a factor in the service of the E.I Co, was already known to Marshall, having sailed to India with him in the *Unicorn* in 1668. Bagnold was employed at Hūglī from 1669 until his death in 1672. For a short notice of him see "Correspondence of Richard Edwards" in *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. iii. 266 (April 1917).

2. Peon, Port. *peão*, an 'orderly' or messenger. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s v.* Peon, for the history of the word.

3. Sātgāon (cor. Sātgānv), the Saptagrama of the *Purāṅas*; the Satigam of Lavañha, the Caatgaam of Broucke, marked on sixteenth and seventeenth century maps under various spellings. It was thought by Ortelius and Cluverius to be the Kosamba of Ptolemy and regarded by others as his Gange. It was near Triveni, the junction of the three rivers, Bhāgirathi ("Ganges") Sarasvati and Jamūna, and was an important trade centre and port on the river up to the middle of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese first established themselves at Sātgāon in 1537-8. Just about this time, however, the river (Sarasvati) commenced to silt up, and by 1540 the harbour became difficult of access for ships. About forty years later a settlement was established at Hūgli by Tavares, who obtained a *farmān* for the purpose from Akbar. (See J. J. A. Campos, "Hist. of the Port. in Bengal," *J.A.S B.*, 1909, p. 245 f.)

4. Bigsee is not marked on any map. It was near the Bogah of R, *B.A.* xix.

5. Perhaps the Issapour of R., *B.A* xix., *i.e.* the "haut" (*hāt*, market) of Echapore (Isapur).

6. The streams referred to are marked by Rennell on *B.A.* xix.

7. See Chapter II, note 34.

8. See Chapter II, note 36.

9. The "Gasiapour" and "Hagdea" of Broucke's map.

10. ? Shaikh Farīd kā madrasa, the college or school of Shaikh Farīd.

things out of my pallenkeen by force, having given them somthing this day - - - 8 Course.

22 *May*. At break of day set out. To Asumlika Surray,[83] 3 Course. To Raning [Rānī Sarāī], 2 Course. To Sumbarka Gola,[84] 1½ Course. To Gunsarpore (Ghansurpur) Surray, 1½ Course. This day already see in the road 5 or 6 dead corps. Rice here 3 pice per seer and 33 pice per rupee. Here at Gunsurpore Surray bought Brinchee [? Baranasī], a Slave, of Banisee [Bansī] his eldest brother. I agreed for 8 annas, but gave 1 rupee for him, also gave in sweetmeats, as customary when buy slaves, 4 pice; 2 pice to the Landlord of the Surray and 1 pice to the Barber for shaveing his head.[85]

To Jaraspore [Gaiāspur, Ghiyāspur], ¾ Course. To Ruckerpore [Rakunpura], ¾ Course. To Mosingpore,[86] ½ Course. To Biccerpore [Baikatpur], ½ Course. In last 2½ Course see 27 or 28 dead corps and pieces of corps in the road. Near Rani[ng] [Rānī Sarāī] I see Ducks eat the dead corps of men in the branch of the river. Here at Biccerpore rice 4½ pice per seer and 60 pice, being new sort, per Rupee. This night lay under a great tree near a Musseet [*masjid*] at the farthest end of the towne. This day travelled 10½ Course.

Tuesday 23 *May*. At break of day set out. To Bunderbunder [Bandarbanā], 1 Course.[87] To Syriapore [? Shekhpur], ¼ Course. To Ryepore [Raipura], ¼ Course. To Dyriapore,[88] ½ Course. To Futtooa [Fatuhā, ¼ Course. To Pundpund [Pūnpūn],[89] ¾ Course. To Joffer Cawns [Ja'far Khān's] [90] Garden in Pattana [Patna], 1 Course, where arrived at 6¾ clock morning. Here stayed about ¾ houre to put on my

Sash [*shash*, turban] and some cleane cloths. To English Factory,[91] 2½ Course where arrived about 8½ clock.

In passing thorow Pattana see severall dead corps lie in the highway and many in the Bazar, and I see 9 dead corps lie in one gate house which I passed thorow, here in Pattana dying about 100 per day and hath for 4 or 5 months. The Coatwall [*kotwāl*, town magistrate] causeth all the dead corps to be cast into Ganges every morning.

Here wheat is 2½ Rupees per Maund; Barly 2 rupees; Rice fine, 4 rupees; Ditto coarse, 2½ rupees. Butter, 7½ rupees; oyle, 7 rupees. Beefe, 35 seer per Rupee. Goats flesh, 14 seer per Rupee, the maund being 80 English pound.[92]

From Mungere hither - - - 43 Course.

24 *May.* Stayed at Pattana in expectation of Mr. Charnock sending the Company's Budgera [*bajrā*] for mee, having writ for it.

Thursday 25 *May.* About Sunrise set out and rid upon horsback over the sand to the river side, being about ¼ Course, and went into a boat hired for mee, which when came to the greatest and broadest streame in the river Ganges, beeing about the middle of it, a violent storme arose, the wind and raine and thunder as violent as I ever see any. I had much to do to make the Boatmen turne to the Leeward bank, but that threatned to kill them. No sooner had wee touched the Bank, but the violency of the storme came, which had like to beat the boat in peeces, so were forced to take out my Pallenkeene and rest of things and set them in the raine on a point of sand, where for about 1 houre I was forced to stand by a little Sedge,[93]

where stood in water to the ancles and in all the raine, and after went into my Pallenkeene againe, in which (by reason of my wax cloth) was not altogether so wett. Here stayed about 2 houres and then set forward againe, and went to Hodgipore [Hājīpur], where sent my things to Surray [a *sarāī*, inn] and rid to Singee [Singhiyā], where arrived about 3 clock afternoon. This day - - - - - - 8 Course.

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6. The streams referred to are marked by Rennell on *B.A.* xix.

7. See Chapter II, note 34.

8. See Chapter II, note 36.

9. The "Gasiapour" and "Hagdea" of Broucke's map.

10. ? Shaikh Farīd kā madrasa, the college or school of Shaikh Farīd.

11. The Borrua serri of Broucke's map and the Barwā of the *S.S.*, now a suburb of Beldanga.

12. Sicco is not now traceable.

13. Banditchee seems to be the Bunjettee of the old *Survey Sheets.*

14. Kāsimbāzār. The Cossimbuzar of Rennell, correctly Qāsimbāzār.

15. The road went round to the east of a big bend in the river. See Rennell's *B.A* xi. Since Rennell's time the river has cut across the narrow neck of land, leaving the deserted reach to become stagnant and choked (see *Scottish Geog. Mag.*, xl. Jan. 1924, article by W. H. Arden Wood).

16. Jacob Verburg became Director of Affairs of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal in 1678, and held that post until his death in September 1680 See Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, v. pt. 1. p. 174; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, i. 370; ii. 240 and note.
Herman Fentsell was transferred, with his chief, to Hūglī in 1678. See *Diaries* as above, i. 327, 340; ii. 240.

17. Streynsham Master was also much impressed with the Dutch factory and gardens at Kāsimbāzār, when he was entertained there in September 1676. See *Diaries*, i. 365.

18. Dera is the Deearpara of the old *Survey Sheets.* Poee is not traceable.

19. Cups (*piyālā*) made of stone from the Nīlgirī.

20. Nehilla, ? Mahalla, is not traceable; Bubbunuda Surray may represent the Pumuneea of the old *S.S.*; Bowdee Surray was at or near the Dewanserai of R., *B.A.* xi.

21. Pipla Surray is the Pipla Serri of Broucke's map; Cotteckpore (Kartikpur) is the Cartakpour of R., *B.A.* xi. The topographical conditions of this area have greatly altered since Marshall's time.

22 The "Cossumbuzar river" is the Bhāgirathi. It seems to have fallen into the Ganges six or seven miles west of Sūtī in Marshall's time.

23. Colloopore (? Kālūpur) and Cutwallpore Surray (? Kotwālpur Sarāī) have apparently disappeared.

24. These were probably refugees from the famine described in Chapter VI.

25. The Ponrapara of the old *S.S.*, close to Sūtī. Elsewhere Marshall writes *c* for *p*, *e.g.* Cundaureck for Pundārakh.

26. See Chapter II, note, 55, and Chapter III, p. 99.

27. Cotwolpore may represent the Commalpour of R., 1774; Gualgane (? Gwālgāon, cowherds' village) is apparently diluviated; Jalmorree is the Jewalmaree of the old *S.S.*

28. The Donapore of Marshall's previous journey. See *Diary* of 23rd September, 1670.

29. ? Khwāja Kiśor. This place may represent the Kissandpour of Rennell, 1774.

30. Gobind Dās kī sarāī. No trace of this inn remains.

31. Dogutcnee (Dogāchī) lay east of Farrukhābād. See Chapter II, note 56.

32. Marshall is alluding to a result of one of the innumerable changes in the course of the river. Dogāchī seems to have been once on the west bank, but in 1770 or thereabouts it was on the east side.

33. Seregur (? Shergarh) and Emillea (? Imlia, the "place of the tamarind tree") are not now traceable. Woodowa is the Oudanullah (Uduānālā) of Rennell, and Puttowra (? Patthaurā) the Patstora of Valentyn.

34. Belgāchī, the "grove of Bel trees." Sar-dārī-kār's garden.

35. See Chapter II, note 60.

36. This description of the grounds surrounding the ruins of Shāh Shūjā's Palace differs somewhat from that given by Marshall when he was at Rājmahal in the previous year (see Chapter II, *Diary* of 8th April, 1670) He then said there were but four quadrangles, two of which were "at least 200 yards long." The details given at his second visit are probably the more correct, as his examination was less hurried, and his remarks are valuable as showing that the palace and garden were then in fair condition, in spite of the ruinous state of the town. See the reference to De Graaf's plan of Rājmahal in Chapter II, note 59.

37. Marshall was impressed by the length of the town at his previous visit. See Chapter II, p. 71.

38. Mughalnī Chak, the ward in which the Mughal ladies lived.

39. Leorpahart is evidently the Peerpahar of R., *B.A.* xv., and the Pier Bahaar of De Graaf.

40. The Sjabatpoer of Broucke's map; the Siabatpoer of De Graaf.

41. Not traceable in Rennell or on modern maps.

42. Perhaps the Mussaw of R., *B.A.* xv., though the distance from Rājmahal as given by Marshall is nearly double the distance shown by Rennell.

43. About a mile from the foot of the hills: no doubt correct.

44. Harrechurnpore (Harīcharanpur) is not now traceable.

45. At Marshall's previous visit (see Chapter II, *Diary* of 11th April, 1670, and note 62) he calls this place "Burgungall" and notes the customs-station, but not the *sarāi*. The "Musseet" on the top of the hill is probably identical with the "stone house" mentioned in 1670. De Graaf spells the name Borre Gangel

46. When Marshall reached Bhāgalpur (see *infra*, p. 121), he found the pice (*paisā*) to be twenty-six to the rupee.

47. Hind. *chhāp*, a seal-impression, stamp. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Chop; Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 118.

48. Pers. *jāgīr*, fief, assignment of land; here used in the sense of government. Shāīstah Khān was Nawāb of Bengal from 1664 to 1677.

49. See *ante*, *Diary* of 3rd May, 1671, where Marshall says nothing about "doolies" and gives "3 Cahars" to carry provisions, one for his gun, and a Musalmān, instead of the "4 coolies" here mentioned. For a description and illustration of a "dowlee [*dolī*] . . . wherein only one person may conveniently sit crosse legg'd" see Mundy, ed Temple, ii. 189, 192.

50. Hind. *jama'dar*, leader of a body of individuals; in this case used as an officer of the customs.

51. On his previous journey (see Chapter II, p. 72) Marshall had no difficulty about customs and only paid 6 pice (*paisā*).

52. Salamannag may be the Sowanpour of R, *B.A.* xv Dowlutka Surray (Daulat kā sarāi), Bobbunear Surray and Away are not marked on the maps.

53. The hill referred to is close to Gangāprasād.

54. "Sasuja's castle or house" seems to have been part of the fortification set up at the Taliagarhī pass by Shāh Muhummad Shūjā' after his retreat from Monghyr in 1659, when pursued by Mīr Jumla and the Imperial army. He halted for a couple of weeks at this spot and erected works to check his pursuers, who, however, turned the position by going through the hills to Belghatta. See J. N. Sarkar *Aurangzib*, ii. 240 *et seq.*

55 Garhī Sarāī. See Chapter II, note 64.

56. Fakīr kā Bāgh, the "ascetics garden." The bridge referred to is marked by Rennell (*B.A.* xv) over the Kunderpol Nulla.

57 Sultān kā Sarāī, probably named after Sultān Muhammad Shūjā'. The "little hill" is marked in R., *B.A.* xv. The

other "**hill on left hand, 1½ Course**" is the hill at Colgong (**Kahalgāon**).

58. See Chapter II, *Diary* of 12th April, 1670, where Marshall makes a similar remark.

59. The rocks here described and noticed by Marshall in his previous journey to Patna (Chapter II, *Diary* of 13th April, 1670) are the well-known "Colgong rocks," marked by R. in *B.A.* xv.

60. The "ditch," which would be dry in the middle of May, is the Teermahony N. of R., *B.A.* xv.

61 Sellerpore, the Salarpore of the 1670 journey, may perhaps represent the Ismaelpour of R., *B.A.* xv. Allepore (Alipur) does not appear on the maps. Borrarree (Barārī) is the Barradee of Chapter II. See *Diary* of 14th April, 1670.

62. See Chapter II, note 67.

63. By "Holwan," *hanumān*, monkey is probably meant. *Hanuman* becomes *halumān* in the mouths of illiterate folk.

64. Marshall's remarks here and elsewhere (*ante*, note 46, and *infra*, Chapter VI) on the value of the pice (*paisā*) are interesting, and show that in the neighbourhood of Patna, in his time, that copper coin was worth more than in other districts. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Pice, where the value is given as eighty to the rupee in 1673.

65. Hubble bubble, an Indian tobacco pipe: a primitive hooka (*huqqah*). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, under both words.

66. Champanagar, the Champernagur of R., *B.A.* xv., the Champā of Fa-hsien and Yuan Chwang, a very ancient site.

67. Chitchercul, ? Chhitraul, is not now traceable.

68. The Meste of Chapter II. See *Diary* of 15th April, 1670.

69. In his previous journey (Chapter II, *Diary* of 15th April, 1670) Marshall mentions another Jahāngīra, a "little towne" on the north bank of the Ganges. It is evident from his description of this Jahāngīra as "a very great towne" and of Masdī, Sūrjapur and Jahāngīra as "one continued towne," that the Ganges has wrought many changes here, owing to erosion and reformation. It is therefore impossible to be sure of the positions of the villages as he saw them

70 Catchagola. Kacchā Golā, a temporary storehouse, perhaps the Katta Gola of De Graaf The present Katgola is close to Ghurghāt.

71. For the "male" bamboo (*Dendrocalamus strictus*) see Bowrey (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 249-50) and Sir Richard Temple's explanatory note and references.

72. The Killiaanpaar of Brouckc and De Graaf. This is not the village of Kaliānpur adjoining Ghorghāt, but lies 2½ miles west of it.

Codulcuttah is the Coodracutta of R., *B.A.* xv. It is apparently since diluviated and covered by the Binda diara alluvial deposits.

73. See Chapter II and note 73 for Marshall's previous visit to Monghyr. De Graaf also (*Voyages*, pp. 60-61) remarks on the large stone elephants, and says that there was the figure of a man on each of them.

74. The head of the Dutch Factory in Bengal at this period was Constantyn Ranst (1669-1672), who was succeeded by François de Haese (1672-1676). See Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, v. pt. 1, p. 174; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, i. 427.

75. For the visit of Nicolaas de Graaf and Corneille van Oosterhoff to Monghyr in 1670, their subsequent imprisonment for seven weeks and their release in November of that year, see De Graaf, *Voyages*, pp. 59-61. See also "An Old Description of the Monghyr Fort" in *Bengal Past and Present* (vol. xxvii. pt. ii. pp. 154-164) containing a translation of De Graaf's account. The Dutchman says nothing of the fine exacted to obtain the freedom of himself and his companion.

76. Dakra Nala; the fine brick bridge over it was broken by Qāsim Alī's troops when pursued by Major Thomas Adams in 1763.

77. The "branch of Ganges" half a *kos* beyond the *sarāī* at Sūrajgarhi is Garkhenala.

78. Ney Surray is not on the *S.S.* It was probably called later Nawābganj, the Nabobgunge of Rennell.

79. Victims of the famine of which Marshall has a graphic description in Chapter VI.

80. See Chapter II, *Diary* of 18th April, 1670, where Marshall also comments on the "neat tone of Trees" at Dariapur

81. The "Mokoia," "Mohore" and "Cundoreck" of the previous journey. See Chapter II, *Diary* of 19th April, 1670.

82. That is, rice was being sold at famine prices.

83. The Sautmole comertalla of R., *B.A.* xv, now Athmal Gola.

84. The *gola* of Sumbar (Sombar).

85. From the name, it appears that the boy was a Hindu, and so would have his head shaved, except for a top-knot.

86. Moshinpur, the scene of Major Caillaud's victory over Shāh 'Alam, 9th February, 1760.

87. See Chapter II, note 80.

88. Daryāpur is not now traceable.

89. See Chapter II, note 82. Marshall's "Punpund" was near the present Jethuli of the *S.S.*

90 The Ja'far Khān Tola of the *S.S.* See Chapter II, note 83.

91. The Company's warehouse at Patna, not the residence of their factors, which was at Singhiyā, on the opposite side of the river.

92. In Marshall's notes on Coins, Weights and Measures, *infra*, Chapter XIII, he gives the Patna *man* of 40 *ser* (the standard *man* of N. India) as 78 lb.

93. Marshall seems to mean that he took what shelter was possible by a mound in the marshy ground covered with sedge or rushes.

94. "Nimda" and "Cussaldea" of the "usuall Account" are not noted by Marshall in either of his journeys, nor is it clear what places are intended.

V

PATNA, SINGHIYA AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

1671–167½

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

31 *May* 1671. This day bought a Braminie [Brāhman] slave boy for 4 rupees; his name was Mangah [Mangā]; his father (dead) was called Jankee [Jānakī] [and] was a Bramany; his mother living, her name Dowkee [? Devakī or Dukhī]. I now gave a new name to the boy and call him Abraham. I bought him in Pattana when his hight was 43 inches, his age 7 or 8 yeares.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 17, 18a, 19a.

Tuesday, 6 *June* 1671. The Rains at Pattana came in 1671 upon the 6th June and rained every day till July 11th.

In 1671 The Raines continued from 6th June and not one fare day till August (except 11th and 30th July).

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19a.

31 *July* 1671. About Morung [Morang], which is a great place,[1] are very high hills which upon the 31 July 1671 I see, being at Singhee [Singhiyā], about 8 Course North from Pattana. They ly North East by North and North North East.[2]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19a.

1 *August* 1671. Upon the first of August 1671, I see the Hills which they pass over to Neopall [Nepāl], which are 50 or 60 Course of[f], which are North By East Easterly; and I then see the hills which are near Botton [Bhūtān], as the Country people report, which are 250 Course of.[3]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 20.

5th August 1671 *and 7th ditto* was no raine, which have been the only days without raine (except 2 before) since the 6th of June.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22a.

Fryday, 18 *August*. At night the River Gunduck [Gandak] began to overflow the banks neare the Factory, which puts us in feare of having the water come within. This continued overflowing and the water in the River riseing and at a stand untill 25th ditto night, when about 2 houres before day there happened a violent storme of raine and filled the Garden and Factory with water, that it was to calfe of the legg deep in most places.

FLOOD

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22-22a.

22th August. This day and 23th no raine, which are all the dayes since 7th ditto without raine. The 18th ditto in the night the River Gunduck was so high that it over flowed the Banks by our Factory at Singee flowing thorow Singee.

23th ditto. A woman carrying dirt (to preserve our walls) till 12 clock noon, when shee laid downe, and in about one houre dyed of hunger, and in the evening her father came and threw her in to the river. Then

Mr. Charnock sent some of his goods on board boats, having sent some on 22th for feare of the Flood into the Factory.

SACRIFICE

23th ditto. Salt Peter boatmen sacrificed a Kid as followes (*vizt.*): They took Pipers and one Drummer along with them in a boat in which they had a kid and some flowers. They went neare the middle of the River, and in the way threw some of their flowers into the River. When they came about the middle, one of the Chiefe boatmen or Pilots took the Kid, and holding it by the 4 feet, diped it all in the River [and] after puting ropes of flowers about its neck, threw it into the River, and one of the common boatmen leaped into the River and took it and put it into the boat, which they rowed round 2 or 3 times, the pipes and drums playing higher than ordinary all that time. Having played all the way thither, they played all the way back again. Then the 24[th], the boatmen who took the kid out of the River, killed it, and with his followers eat it.[4]

ELLABASSE [ALLAHĀBĀD]

— *August.* At Ellabasse, which is from Bonorras [Benares] towards Agra 4 dayes jorney, towards the latter end of August 1671, there happened a very great flood, by reason of the overflowing of Ganges and Gemini [Jamunā], which meet there. They overflowed in the night so much and encompassed the towne, so that few could escape. Many went to the Castle to preserve themselves, but the Nabob in it would not suffer any to enter, except those that would give him

5 rupees per peece, which few of them had by them, being so surprised. They were forced thence and driven away with the Streames. Many got upon trees where lived 4 or 5 dayes, whilst [others] perished for want of food, and there lay dead in the boughs thereof, some upon the tops of their houses, there being but few that could escape by boats, and the Nabob having shut up the Fort or Castle, except as above. There were missed in the towne 17 thousand persons which perished in this Flood, besides poor people &ca., of which no notice was taken, which amounted to a very great number. For this action of the Nabobs the King turned him out of his place.[5]

SINGEE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23.

8th September 1671. Upon Fryday September le 8th 1671 happened an Eclips of the Moon which at Johnobad [Jahānābād] (which is about 15 mile North from Pottana) it began first to be Duskish on the Eastward part at 10 h. 6 m. night, was at the hight at 12 h. 13 m. and over at 2 h. 20 m. morning, September 9th, 71.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23.

September le 10th. Being at Singee I see the Hills [of] Button, Neopol and Morung hills called Cuttee or Cothey[6] very plainly, and from the English Factory they bore as follows.[7]

HOTTY STORME

Tis observed That Generally there is a great storme at Pattana and them parts which happens about 7th or 8th or middle of September, at which or thereabouts

the River Ganges riseth very much, sometimes is at a stand for the hight about 10 or 15 dayes, when it falls; after that time it riseth no more that yeare.[8] In 1671 the Storme was about 2d. or 3d. and the River rise the 8th at night, being the time when the Moon was Eclipsed, but this yeare hath beene storme ever since the middle of March.[9]

September le 11th. I observed with a small compas the Sun rose East 4d. Southerly, so that I conceive the Variation is 4d. The Sun being then in the Equator, there needs no working it. This observation was taken at Singee, 15 miles North of Pattana.[10]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26a.

Memorandum. At Cape Bonesperance the variation yearly increaseth and at Mauritius decreaseth.

24 *September.* Then was the Hotty [*hathiyā*] or great storme over, being New moon.

7 *October* 1671. A violent Storme happened but lasted not above one houre. Tis supposed to be port [*sic*, part] or reliques of the Hotty.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23a.

15 *October.* A violent storme happened, which continued about an houre in the morning, which [is] supposed to be the reliques of the Hotty or Moonsoone.

NAHOWNA TIME[11]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 24a.

6 *November* 1671. Upon the 6th of November (when the Moone was neare the Full) in the morning, was the chiefe time of the Hindoos washing at Hodjipore [Hājīpur], whether resorted (I conceive) about 40 or 50000 persons on that day, on the day before and the day after, to wash their bodies in the place

where Ganges and Gunduck Rivers meet, whereby they think they merit much and receive greate benefit by it. Here many or most of them carry home with them some of the water and sand or dirt out of the River. Some come hither out of Tartary [Central Asia], some from places very remote. Tis reported that sometimes some of the Rojas [Rājās] at Neopall and other places come hither disguised.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26.

Le 17th November 1671. Then came in the cold weather in Pattana after a little storme and raine.

At Singee from the middle of November to the end very cold raw weather, though sunshine, but very hazy, especially in mornings, sometimes mistie and so hazy at noonday that a man could scarce see a mile. From begining to 15th of December not altogether so cold and upon the 15th a little raine.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 31.

Le 3d December 1671. I observed the hight of the Sunn at 12 clock, which was high 41d. 20m., the Sunns declination then being 23d. 16m. which being added together make 64d. 36m., which substracted from 90d. remains 26d. 24m., which is the Lattitude of Johnabad or Singee, which is about 15 Mile North of Pottana, So that the Lattitude of Pottana is 25d. 9m. according to this Observation,[12] which was a very plain and good one.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 34a.

29 *December*. I then did eat Grape[s] in Singee, which grew in Hadgipore [Hājīpur].

30 *December*. A showre of rain and a clowdy day.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 5.

6th, 7, 8 *&ca. January* 167½. Now the weather very cold in Singee, so that notwithstanding my wearing a pare of thick course stockings, a paire of leather sock[s] and slippers, a paire of thick fustian drawers, a paire of white and another paire of silk breeches, one Shirt, a Kinomo [kimono],[13] a quilter silk coat, and over all a quilted gowne, yet I could not keepe my selfe warme (by siting in my chamber) for an houre together in a morning, notwithstanding I put my feet in a Boot of straw and had a Mat upon the ground and sit upon a chaire.[14]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 7a.

12 *Januarie.* At night a great storme at Singee of thunder wind and raine.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 11.

Le 15 *and* 16 *Januarie.* Exceeding cold weather, and 17th began to be windy after about 9 clock morning, continuing all the day long very strong.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17.

1 *February* 167½. The weather begins to be warme.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 18a.

4 *February* 167½. At Singee then happened a violent storme of wind and a little raine.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23a.

The 3d March 167½. At Singee by Pattana the Moone was in Eclipse begining about 20 minutes after Sunset and ending at 9 clock according to the Hindoos Account, this [*sic*] ☽ that day having entred ♏ at 7 gur. ¼ morning and ☉ having beene 5da. 4 pur. 4 pus. in ♓ and ☊ 1 mo. 3 da. in ♍. This day the

least with the Hindoos in their yeare.[15] This Account from Gurriall fellow.[16]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24a.

6 *March.* Then at Singee at 6¾ Gurries [*gharī*] night happened a very great Meteor, casting a light so great that I thought the Factory had been all on a fire, siting in the ? Chowteund[17] at supper. It came from South South West and ran North North West. The begining of it was about 20 degrees high and ran to about 30 degrees towards the other horizon, so that the whole ran 130 degrees, and it was about 4 or 5d. broad. It shone about one minute of an houre very bright, and then contracted its light to a duskishness, and one end of it turned to South East by South, and the other directly South, where it seemed to center. It continued that Duskish light about 10 or 12 minutes, when was quite extinct. After its first lightning, there was a great crack like the crack of a cannon.

The Bramins say it imports 3 things :—

1. An Earthquake at its appearing.
2. An Earthquake 15 dayes after.
3. The Death of the king.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25a.

15 *to* 18 *March.* Stormy weather from 9th to 5 ? afternoon [of the 18th].

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

1. By "Morung" Marshall means the *tarai*, the district below the Himālayas in Nepāl and the lower ranges of that mountain system south of Khatmandū.

2. From Singhiyā the directions indicated, N.E. by N. and N.N.E., point to the Mount Everest group of snows as the "very high hills" seen by Marshall. The snows are visible on a clear morning after rain.

3. The Nepāl hills "North By East Easterly," 110 to 135 miles away, would be the lower ranges of the Himālaya to the N. and N.E. of Khatmandu. The hills "near Botton" would be Chumularhi and the high mountain in that direction. Chumularhi lies about 300 miles in a straight line from Singhiyā. The "250 Course" of the "country people" would, of course, mean the distance by road to get there.

4. Floods are usually ascribed to the agency of demons, and Marshall appears to be describing a ceremony of propitiation to the power controlling the waters which had recently caused the havoc narrated by him.

5. No confirmation of this incident has been found, nor the name of the governor of Allahābād at this date.

6. The Churiaghati hills appear to be meant.

7. In the MS. there is a very rough unmeaning sketch of the elevation of the hills.

8. Hotty. The Hathiyā Nakshatra (lunar asterism) in the latter part of the Hindī month Aswin, at the end of September or beginning of October, when the last rainfall of the rainy season occurs. For agricultural operations in Northern India this is one of the most important rainfalls in the year, as on it depends the success of the sowings of the cold weather crops. Numerous agricultural sayings or proverbs attest the importance of the rain. This is not usually a season of violent storms in the Patna district. In fact, storms properly so called, are rare at this time. In 1671 the rains chanced to be accompanied by storms, and it

was evidently a very exceptionally stormy year, as Marshall's account shows.

9. Job Charnock, head of Patna factory, writing from "Singee" 26th October, 1671, to Walter Clavell, Chief of Affairs for the E.I.Co. in the Bay of Bengal (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 7) accounts for the delay in sending down the saltpetre boats to Hūglī as follows: "We could not possibly send down the last petre sooner then we did, so vyolent hath been the winds here these severall months, that when it was abord we could hardly secure our boats from breaking lo[o]se before our factory, and as we last wrote you, the river broke out into such floods that it drownd the whole country, and we had much ado to save a great part of our petre from its vyolence. . . We shall observe alwayes yearly to send away the first boates from hence in June that you may have some ready upon all occasions. . . . Had not this year proved such a miracle you had not been prevented of a good quantity at said time."

10. On this statement Mr. Kaye remarks: "11 September (Old Style) 1671 was the autumnal equinox, and the sun rose due east. Marshall concludes, from his observation, that the magnetic declination or variation was 4° East. On 15 March $167\frac{0}{1}$ (*ante*, p. 103) he records the variation at Piplī as 7° 23'."

11. By Nahowna time (Hind. *nahāna*, Skr. *snāna*, to bathe) Marshall means Bathing Festival Time. He here refers to the great bathing festival held at the full moon of the Hindī month of Kārtik, at the confluence of the Gandak and Ganges, known locally as the Sonpur Melā.

12. The latitude of Patna is 25° 35'.

13. The use of the word "Kinomo" (kimono) at this date is interesting, since the earliest quotation for the term given in the *O.E.D.* is from the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1887. There are instances, however, of its use in the *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. iii. pp. 263, 270, 295, but there the meaning is strictly confined to the garments of Chinese or Japanese individuals.

14 The average lowest temperature in Patna during the cold weather is 36·4, but a ground frost often occurs in January in this district.

15. Mr. Kaye explains Marshall's remarks as follows: "The statements mean (*a*) The Moon entered ♍ (Virgo) at 7½ *ghatis* morning: (*b*) The Sun had been 5 days 4 pur. 4 pus. (5·0678 days; but there is doubt about the meanings of "pur." and "pus." See Chapter X, Astrology, note R.) in ♓ (Pisces); (*c*) The ascending node ☊ had been 1 month 3 days in ♍ (Virgo);

(*d*) 'This day the least . . . in their yeare' can have no astronomical meaning."

16. "Gurriall fellow," a *ghariyāli*, time-keeper, one who attended to the clepsydra or water-clock.

17. The word is illegible. It is probably intended for "chowtree" (*chabūtarā*), a raised masonry platform, generally having a *pankhā* erected over it, on which to sit outside the house in the fresh air in the evenings, or early morning. Every bungalow had such a *chabūtarā* in the old days; and it was a common custom to have *choti hāzari* (early breakfast) and dinner served on it.

VI

FAMINE IN PATNA

1671

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

In latter end of May 1671 there dyed of Famine in Pattana about 100 persons dayly, and had so for 3 or 4 months. Corne was then (*vizt.*) Wheate, 2½ Rupees per Maund; Barley, 2 rupees; Rice fine, 4 rupees; Ditto Course, 2½ rupees; Beefe, 1⅛r.; Goat flesh, 2r.; Butter or Gue [*ghī*], 7½r.; Oyle, 7r. per Maund, which consists of 80 lb. English Averdepoiz.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17a.

June the 19th when came from [? to] Pattana from Singee, I see upon one peece of sand, about the middle way betwixt that city and the River, about 32 or 33 persons ly dead within about 10 yards compas from the middle of them, and so many by the River side that could not come on shore but [except] by very many dead corps; also aboundance upon the sand besides. Now Rice fine, 4r. per Maund, beeing a little while since 4r. 7an., being somthing cheaper. Wood for firing, 4½Md. per Rupee; Henns 5, and chickins 8 per Rupee.

Tis reported that since the begining of October there have died of Famine in Pattana and the Suburbs

about 20,000 persons, and there cannot in that time have gone fewer from the City than 150,000 persons. The corps in the river generally ly with their backs upwords. Great number of Slaves to be bought for 4an. and 8an. per peece, and good ones for 1r. per peece ; but they are exceeding leane when bought, and if they eat but very little more than ordinary of rice, or eat any flesh, butter or any strong meat, their faces, hands and feet and codds swell immediately exceedingly ; so that tis esteemed enough to give them at first ½ seer of rice, and those very leane ¼ seer per day, to be eaten at twice.

The Famine reacheth from 3 or 4 dayes jorney beyond Bonarres [Benares] to Rojamaul [Rājmahal]. The most of the poore that go hence go to Dacca for victualls, though there is thought to be great quantities of Rice in these parts ; yet through the Nabobs roguery here is a Famine, and also somthing from the dryness of the last yeare.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19.

In Pattana about 23th July there dyed about 250 or 300 persons dayly of Famine in and about the City of Pattana, Rice being 5r. 5an. per Md., best sort. I have examined some dying of Famine, who told mee That within their bodies they were hot, but without cold, esp[ec]ially on their Belly and privy parts. They are very thirsty and hungry, and so feeble that can neither go nor stand, nor scarce stirr any joynt. They have no pain in their head, but a great one in their Navill. Their urin is very red and thick like blood, and excrement like water, which runs often from them, but but little at a time. I examined one woman immediately before she died.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 20.

In Pattana in 1671, August 8th, Now dy dayly here of Famine 2 or 300 persons in City and Suburbs. Rice now 7 seer per Rupee or 5r. 11an. per Md., of best sort, and sometimes none to be bought, nor bread in the Bazar. In the Gaut [*ghāt*, landing place, quay] by our Factory, which was not 4 yards round about (as I conceive) lay 50 dead corps which I could tell [count], which were driven thether in about 2 dayes time, and Mr. [Valentine] Nurse saith that the day after hee counted 122 dead corps in ditto place. Aboundance are every day drove to the side of the River, though the most persons of quallity hire Hollolcores [*halālkhor*, sweeper] to carry them into the middle of the river with a string, and carries them in to the middle of the river, and then cuts the string and so lets them drive down with the streame.

Notwithstanding there were 50 dead corps in the Gaut by our Factory, yet the Gaut was seldome without a great many women who take up water by the dead corps and drink it, and dress their victualls with it.

Upon the 7th ditto [August 1671] 2 Merchants in Pottana threw them selves into a Common well and drowned themselves. Now a terrible sad cry of poor in the Bazzar.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22a.

August 12th. Rice fine, 6 seer per rupee or 6r. 10⅝an. per Md. No course rice to be bought; wheat now 20 seer per Rupee or 4r. per Md. Some dayes neither rice nor bread to be bought in the Bazar.

Harl. MS. 4254, 22a.

August 20th 1671. Now Rice in Pattana 5 seer per Rupee or 8 Rupees per Md. and very scarce to be bought for that price.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22.

September le 15th 1671. In Pattana Rice was 8 seer per Rupee, but Course; 12 seer Goats flesh and 24 of Beefe per Rupee.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26.

In Pattana and the Suburbs died in 14 months last past, ending 6th November 1671, of the Famine, 135,400 persons, an Account hereof being taken out of the Coatwalls Chabootry.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 31a.

I received (upon 11th December 1671) an Account in writeing out of the Coatwalls Chabootree, wherein was writ, that in the 12 months last past there had died in Pattana and the Suburbs of the Famine 103,000 persons (*vizt.*), 50,000 Mussulmen and 53,000 Hindoos, which were taken notice of in their books of Records.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 33a.

December 26th, I received an exact account from the Coatwall Chabootry, to which give credit, that in 12 months ending 22th November last, being 354 dayes there dyed in Pattana and the Suburbs of the Famine, 15,644 Mussulmen, to whome the Nabob gave cloth to cover them when was buried, having no friends to bury them, dying in the Streets, and tis thought 2,500 dyed in the skirts of the towne, in their houses, or where might be buried by some of their relations, which were not reckoned—in all, 18,144. And tis supposed 4 times as many Hindoos

died as Mussulmen, which were 72,576, which, with the 18,144, make in all 90,720. And the townes near Pattana, some are quite depopulated, having not any persons in them. In one towne about 3 Course west from Pattana, where were 1,000 houses inhabited, are now but 300, and in them not above 4 or 500 persons, the rest being dead. This account I received from Mamood-herreef [Mahmūd 'Ārīf].

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23a.

Such was the laziness [languidness] of workmen in the time of Famine, That in the time of making one Casmeer [Kashmīr] boat for the Company, Six of the Carpenters died of Famine.

NOTE ON THE FAMINE IN PATNA AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN 1671

CHAPTER VI

The scattered references in Marshall's *Notes* to the dearth prevailing at Patna at the time of his arrival afford, when collected, a moving account of the sufferings of the inhabitants at that period. There are, in addition, the remarks in Chapters IV and V embodied in the *Diary* of 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 31st May and 23rd August, 1671, when his attention was forcibly drawn to the effects of the scarcity by the prevalence of "dead corps," the sale of children to obtain food, and the "sad noise of poor starved people."

The continual rise in the price of rice and other provisions from May to September 1671, so carefully chronicled by our author, is sufficient evidence of the suffering entailed on all but the wealthy inhabitants.

As in the case of Peter Mundy's description of the Satiāsio Kāl, or the Famine in Gujarāt in 1630-1632 (*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, ii. 338-353), Marshall's account of a dearth in a much more restricted area forty years later throws a vivid light on the treatment of such a visitation by the provincial authorities in the Mughal days. There was no order in the disposal of the dead nor any administrative measures to cope with distress. Those who could do so fled, and those without strength or means to do so died in their thousands.

Strangely enough, no widespread pestilence appears to have followed in the wake of the dearth nor, as in the case of the famine of 1630-1632, do the Europeans appear to have fallen victims to its effects. Indeed, the contemporary references to this local famine are very sparse, and only three allusions to it have been found in the *Records* of the East India Company. They all occur in letters from Job Charnock and Robert Elwes at the Company's factory at Singhyā to Walter Clavell, head of affairs in "the Bay." The first is dated 31st March, 1672 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 7) and contains the remark: "We understand many of the weavers are dead of the Famine . . . We have

already given out money for about 16000 [mds.] petre. These 4 months of February, March, Aprill and May being the only time of the yeare for the makeing and getting in this Comodity, and as yet we have gotten but 7000 mds. Such great raines fell last yeare that it was late ere any could be made, and the greatest part of the Petre Men as made Petre for us, and the Dutch Petremen are dead in the last famine, which is another reason it is both scarce and deare. . . . Now Pattana is so miserably decayd we cannot get what we please att Intrest as wee could formerly."

Again, on 25th April, 1672, Charnock and Elwes wrote (*op. cit.*): "We advised you in our last that we thought we could not be able to get 17 or 18000 (maunds of saltpetre) this yeare, which we now again confirm, and we feare not so much, it being so scarce and deare by reason of the great raines and the famine the last yeare."

The last reference (*op. cit.*) is dated seven weeks later, 14th June, 1672: "There is no reason to fear but our success may be equivalent with the Dutch as to our Petre Investment. But they, as well as wee, shall come short of their intended quantities this year. The last yeares famine and great raines do sufficiently manifest it."

De Graaf, who journeyed to Patna after his release from Monghyr in November 1670, as narrated in Chapter V, thus describes the condition of the place on his arrival (*Voyages*, p. 67, translation): "We saw nothing but poverty and misery among the country folk. Scarcity and famine were greater than had ever been known within the memory of man The cause was the failure of the rice crop and the inundations of the Ganges: Rice cost half a rix dollar for 6 sers or 9 lb. Dutch weight, while in ordinary years, 60, 70, or more lb. could be bought for the same amount.

"The people died in heaps and their corpses remained extended on the roads, streets and marketplaces, since there was no one to bury them or even throw them into the river. These corpses were torn and devoured by wild horses, tigers, wolves and dogs. We even saw some poor wretches who had still in their mouths grass, leather and suchlike filth. They died in flocks. A woman ate her own child. Slaves could be bought for next to nothing."

But by far the most valuable corroboration of Marshall's account and of his story of the "Nabobs Roguery" is that given by Thomas Bowrey, who had also recently arrived in India at the time of the scarcity. He writes (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 226): "Notwithstandinge Pattana be soe fertile to afford graine to Such a plentifull countrey as Bengala, yett in the yeare of our Lord 1670 they had as great a Scarcitie, in soe much that one Pattana Seere weight of rice (the plentifullest graine in the country) was Sold for one rupee, the Seere containing

onely 27 Ounces, and, in a few months, there was none at all to be had at that rate, in soe much that many thousands of the Natives perished in the Streets and open feilds for want of food, and many glad to Sell theire own children for a handful of rice."

It will be seen that Marshall ascribes the sufferings of the people, in some measure, to the Nawâb and that Thomas Bowrey blames his "Chiefe Wife." There must have been some foundation for these charges, but no evidence to support them has so far been discovered.

Marshall and Valentine Nurse, also a factor in the Company's service serving at Patna, appear to have endeavoured to arrive at the approximate numbers of victims of the dearth, but the figures obtained from the "exact account" recorded in the "Coatwalls Chabootry" (*chabūtarā*, office, of the *kotwāl*, police-officer, superintendent of a market), were probably very far from the truth.

VII

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. BALLASORE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 2a.

Ballasore was formerly called Banagur.

2. GANGES

(*a*) *Memorandum*. Ganges River is in some places about a mile broad, and in many not halfe a mile, and in some not a quarter of a mile, and in 1 or 2 places about ⅛ of mile broad. When the water is low, as in Aprill, when [*sic* ? then] the River is almost dry in many places from one side of it to the other, and very Shallow in many places, not 3 foot deep, soe that boats have much to doe to pass, however, without great trouble, not knowing where is deepe where shallow. But when the water is at its hight, which is about middle September, then it is very broad and deep. In this River, untill come about Rojimall [Rājmahal], are many Alligators, and as far as Pattana very many Porpoises, also towards Pattana very many Pellicans and other great birds.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 9.

(*b*) At this place [Hājīpur], when Hindoos come to wash, which is about November, they all carry away some water in potts out of the River Ganges to their

frinds, though 4 or 500 Course [*kos*] or 1000 miles, and with that water wash their parents who are old, or frinds that cannot come, and think thereby that all their sins are forgiven them for that yeare. At this meeting of such a great concourse of people and all washing on one morning and endeavouring to wash as neare as they can in the place where these two Rivers meete, several are yearly crowded to death.

Into this River Ganges the Hindoos throw most of their dead Corps after a little burnt, esteeming it a holy river.

3. GUNGA OR GANGES AND GUNDUCK

Harl. MS. 4254, 9a.

The River Gunga [Gangā] or Ganges comes to Puttana from West and runs to the East, and Gunduck [Gandak] comes from North. Betwixt Gunga and Gunduck, *vizt.* betwixt West and North where these Rivers meete, at the corner, is a Greene peece of low ground, which at the hight of the Rivers is overflowne, after which the Hindoos come thither from the remotest parts in India to wash themselves in that place where the Rivers meet, which they esteeme holy, so that there are many thousands come thither at one time. There is also there a garden, called Sasugas [Shāh Shujā'] Garden, which is very high, and by reason of its situation and having such prospects, I esteeme it the pleasantest place I have seene in India.

4 HOGIPORE—NANAGUR

(*a*) Opposit to this Garden on the other side of the river is Hogipore (Hājīpur] which is an ancient and ruined towne, but hath bin a famous place and the

scate of the King. At Hogipore the Company have a house for which pay 3½ rupees per month.

(*b*) From thence South Easterly, about 4 Course, is Nanagur, where the Company have a house of their owne, which stands pleasantly by a Rivers side which comes out of the River Ganges, when Ganges is high, but at other times is dry. This Nanagur is a very pleasant place, being scituated amongst Topes [*top*, grove] of trees, and the way from thence to Hogipore is very pleasant. Nanagur is also esteemed a very healthful place, being scituated upon a hard clay ground. From Nanagur to Jonabad [Jahānābād] is 9 Course, *vizt.* 4 to Hogipore, and thence to Jonabad 5 courses more.

(*c*) Betwixt Hogipore and Nanagurr in the Kings Highway (neare a Great Garden in which is a Tome [tomb]) is a Great [banyan] Tree whose branches spread 33 yards, it being round.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14.

5. AN ACCOUNT OF THE WAY BETWIXT DILLY [DELHI] AND PATTANA BY LAND, BEEING 326 COURSE, EACH COURSE BEEING ABOUT 2¼ MILES, MAKE 732½ ENGLISH MILES.

FROM DILLY

	Course	
To Fryabad [Farīdābād] - - - - -	12	
To Sheinschecalls Surray - - - - -	10	
To Hullull [Hodal] 3, Bramsurray 7 [? Bursana] - - - - - - - -	10	
Here, not far from this place, neare Hadull Pallull, lies the Lord Bellamount interred, not answerable to his quallity.		
To Coleway Surray - - - - - -	13	
To Jetsurray - - - - - -	13	
To Farra - - - - - -	14	
To Agra - - - - - - - - -	8	
Carry forward, - - - —		80

Brought forward, - - - - - -		80

FROM AGRA

To Begum Surray [Begam Sarāī] - -	4		
To Forabad [Firozābād] - - - - -	10		
To Chitkerabad [Shikhohābād] - - -	6		
To Mullederkeyt Surray [Maholee (Rennell)]	6		
To Cursenne Surray - - - - - -	7		
To Ittay [Etawah] - - - - - -	7		
To Jeetmall [Ajīt Mal] - - - - -	12		
To Rojapul Surray [Rājāpul Sarāī] - -	10		
To Buglepore Surray [Boogalee (R.)] - -	10		
To Gaycumpore Surray [Gautampur] - -	12		
To Rogeray Surray [? Rājā Rāī Sarāī] -	12		
To Fetipore [Fathpur] - - -	11		
To Hattigaum [Hathgāon, Attigong (R.)] -	9		
To Sajatpore [Shāhzādpur] - - - -	10		
To Allam Chand Surrey [Alam Chand Sarāī]	6		
To Begum Surrey [Begam Sarāī] - - -	6		
To Allebassee [Allahābād] - - - - -	3		
To Hander [Handiā] - - - - - -	8		
To Howmull Surrey - - - - - -	10		
To Mirza Merad Surrey [Mīrzā Murād Sarāī] -	7		
To Bonarres [Benares] - - - - -	7		
	—	173	

FROM BONARRES

To Mogul Surrey [Mughal Sarāī] - - -	4		
To Sydraca Surrey [Saiyadrājā Sarāī] - -	5		
To Mowakay Surray [Mowhanea Sarāī] -	8		
To Jonabad Surray [Jahānābād Sarāī] -	7		
To Susseraum Surray [Sāsāram Sarāī] - -	7		
To Muckeranny Surray [Makrain Sarāī] -	5		
To Vukeley Surrey - - - - - -	7		
To Aganour Surrey [Aganūr Sarāī] - -	10		
To Nowbutpore Surrey [Naubatpur Sarāī] -	8		
To Pottana [Patna] - - - - - -	8		
	—	73	
		—	[326]

From Agra to Pattana is esteemed 300 Course but are but little ones, so suppose in this account the length of townes not reckoned.

6. FROM PATTANA BY LAND TO BALLASORE.

To Mungere [Monghyr] - - - - -	46
To Rojamaul [Rājmahal] - - - -	50
To Cassumbuzar [Kāsimbāzār] - - -	40
To Huglie [Hūglī] - - - - -	40
To Ballasore - - - - - - -	64
	240

These Courses towards Ballasore beeing at least 3 Miles per Course.

7. NEOPAL OR NECKBALL, BONARRAS AND POTTANA

Harl MS. 4254, fol. 17.

Neopoll [Nepāl] is distant from Pottana about 80 Course Northerly. Bonorros [Benarcs] is distant from Pottana Westerly 80 Course, and Neopoll is distant from Bonnares 80 Course, so that these 3 lie in a 3 angle [triangle].

8. F[R]OM POTTANA TO NEOPOLL AND BOTTON [BHŪTĀN, TIBET]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25.

Jenti Das [? Jindā Dās] his Account from Pattana to Neopall is as followeth (*vizt.*)

From Pattana to Hodgipore [Hājīpūr] 3 Course, to Singee 5 Course - - - - - -	8 Course
To Mogulliannee Surray [Mughalānī Sarāī] -	8 Course
To Butsulla, in which is a Surray called Sunderkea Surray [Sundar kī Sarāī] - - - - -	7 Course
To Mossee [Mehsī], a great City, where resides a Nabob - - - - - - - -	4 Course
To Soorgpoore [? Sūrajpūr] - - - -	8 Course
To Motteharree [Motihārī] - - - - -	7 Course
To Heatounda [Hataura] at the bottom of the hills	8 Course
Thence all the way uphill to Cautmondoo [Khatmandu], Pautund [Pātan] or Bautgowrie [Bhatgāon], which lie neare each other and almost all at some distance, which are called Neopoll or Neckball - -	40 Course
Thence to Bauton [Bhūtān, Tibet], whence the Musk is taken - - - - - - -	250 Course
	340 Course

9. HILLS—MORUNG, NEOPOLL—BOTTON OR CUTTEE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19a.

(*a*) About Morung, which is a great place, are very high hills. They ly directly North from hence and seeme a vaster distance of[f] than any object my eyes ever beheld. I see them before Sunrise about 2 minutes of an houre, when I could see the sun shine upon the tops of them, which hills seemed about ½ degree above the horizon. These people, when they go thither, they go first to Neopoll and some days jorney beyond pass over vast valleys before come to these hills. They go to Botton for Musk, that being the chiefest place where the Musk-deer are. Travelling over the Neopoll hills requires 24 or 25 days time, which being up most vast hills and down vast valleys, the way in a straight line may not be much, and considering the crookedness of the way passing through vast woods &ca., and going by Neopoll to Botton, which is out of the way, lying about 1 point of the Compas East of it, and then considering that they come to these hills 4 or 5 days before come to Botton, and then possibly the Course may be less towards the Northward as are to other places Northward. These considerations allowed, I reckon that the reall distance of these hills from hence may bee in a straight line about 140 Course which, at 2¼ mile per Course, make 315 English miles.

(*b*) Severall Arminians and Jesuits which have come from them parts, which come from China, and have travelled the most Countries in the World, say that these Botton hills are the highest hills they ever see or heard of.

(*c*) The Morung, Neopoll and Botton hills are in Tartary [Central Asia] and the last of which are called Nettee Cuttee, which are Caucasus hills. All are out of the great Mogulls Dominions.

(*d*) They say that the people at Botton [Tibet] have broad flat noses, are very just in dealing, and if any theefe be amongst them, though for never such a trifle, they kill him. That a man may have a bag of gold in their streets and no man will meddle with it to diminish it, or carry itt away.

10. NEOPOLL

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 8a.

(*a*) In going to Neopoll (Nepāl), when come to the Hills which is 40 Course from Neopoll, all passengers of quality are carried from thence upon mens Shoulders, the Hills being so steepe that neither Horse nor Pallenkeene can goe, or be carried; but 6 men carry them in a kind of Hammack upon their shoulders, for which they have 4 Anas or ¼ Rupee per peece.

(*b*) From Neopoll comes Muskee which at Pattana is sold for 49 rupees per Seere being 16 Pice to the Seere, 40 of which pice make a great seere of about 31 oz.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23.

(*c*) The Hills bearing North North ½ Easterly and N b E ½ Easterly [rough elevation omitted], are said to be Botton hills which are such a vast distance of[f], those NE b N [are] Neopoll hills, and the other Morung hills.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25.

(*d*) The Hills before come to Neopoll, those that are nearest to Pattana and ly most Eastward of the way thither, are called Bimpoher [Bhīm Pahār] or Bims

[Bhīms] hills or Daupshaw, and those that are North and nearest are called Mauhabor, and those further of and lie Westward of the way are called Chondragir [Chandragiri] and Dowka, and them beyond Neopoll are called Nestee Cuttee, and are the Cathy mountains or Caucasus &ca.

(*e*) The women at Neopoll are said usually to piss in the streets in the day time before people, which I am apt to beleeve, being at the time of the washing at Hogipore [Hājīpur], whether came many women from Neopoll, I see one woman (that passed by mee as I was walking) who almost so soone as was past mee, sat her downe in the middle of the path before mee and pissed.

(*f*) Some that have been at Neopoll say That all men and women go bare headed except the King or Roja [Rājā], who weares a Sash [*shash*, turban] and in winter a hat. The ordinary and poore sort weare nothing upon their feet, so that they are so hard that nothing will hurt them to tread upon it, for they are at the soles like hoofes. Their houses all Brick and high built.

11. BUTTON

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 8.

(*a*) At Button [Tibet] there is a great Bramin [? Lāmā) whome all the common sort worship, and they think themselves happy if they can but obtaine any thing from him (which came from him), so that those that he shewes a favour too, hee gives them a peece of his excrement which they sew in a clout and weare about their necks as a great favour.

(*b*) There the women buy and sell all and do all the business belonging to man, and the men carry their

children about on their shoulders and follow them, and if any abuse their wifes, then the husbands take their parts. The men feed their children and do all other work belonging to women. Their dead corps of their friends they cut into small pieces and give to their dogs. They make cups of the skulls of their friends and drink out of them Tee [tea]. Both the men and women eat raw flesh and never put on cleane cloths, but wear the old till they will hang on. They oyle themselves so much that a man cannot touch their clothes but oyle himselfe, tis so thick on them, and all stinking oyle, such as is burn'd in Lamps, so they look more like devells then men or women. Some of them weare jewells, and will have upon their eares and about their necks to the value of 1 or 2 hundred pounds sterling, when their cloths are not worth a groat.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 20a.

(*c*) Badista de Joan saith that from Botton or Suling are 3 months travell with goods, but alone not above one. They meet with little victualls in the way. The people weare Coats whose skirts are made of board. Beyond Sulling is Cathay hills whence comes the best Tee of [? or] Chay [Pers. *chāe*, *chāy*, tea].

(*d*) Muctear de Isaac [Mukhtār Ishāq] Saith that the Natives at Button say there are 3 Gods : one who brought them their book, one who is in heaven, and the 3d their Lamma [*lāmā*, priest]. The people are honest, and reall [sincere]. The women have no shame in Leachery ; 4 or 5 brothers take one woman for wife which keep in house amongst them. The Natives have but few hares in their beards.

(*e*) There great store of barley, which they make

beer of. They eat raw flesh and drink Tee after it. Their dead they cut in peeces and give to the dogs.

(*f*) From Neopoll to Button is one month and 10 dayes travell (*vizt.*), 10 dayse to begining of Button country, where are the high hills, and one months travell beyond it to Lossa [Lhāsā], being about as far as from Pattana to Agra. All the way are villages and townes. From some part of Button country to Muscovy is but 1½ months travel.

(*g*) They [the Tibetans] have no coynd money, but sell all by weight, as gold and silver. This Mucktear de Isaac [Mukhtār Ishāq] hath beene in Button 3 times, hath beene in Russia, Dainmark, Sweadland, Norway, Holland, England (at London 3 months), is acquainted with Sir Hennage Finch there; in France, Italie, which Language he speaks, and what place not in Europe, being 7 yeares travelling there.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21.

(*h*) From Button some Woosbecks [Uzbegs] travell to Russia, where for 20 days together meet not with any food, so bleed their horses every night and drink the blood and feed their horses well.

12. FROM PATTANA TO LOSSA

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21a.

	Course.	
To Singee [Singhiyā] - - - - - -	8	
To Mossene [Mehsī] - - - - - - -	17	
To Hedouda [Hataura] - - - - - -	63	
To Neopoll [Nepāl] - - - - - - -	40	
To Cuthay [Kūtī] - - - - - - -	100	
To Zeggeecha [Shigatse] - - - - -	200	
To Lossa [Lhāsā] - - - - - - -	200	
	——	628

13. FROM LOSSA TO SUNNING

(*a*) To Corrassoo - - - - - - -	100	
To Cowconor [Koko-nōr (Lake) - - -	150	
To Suning [Si-ning] - - - - - -	50	
	——	300

This Account from Mucktear de Isaac who hath travelled it.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22.

(*b*) There are 4 sorts of people between Lossa and Suning: 1. Colmauk [Kalmuks], 2. Allamon, 3. Langzee, 4. Tartar. Batista de Joan, the Arminian, who had been at Lossa and Suning, told mee that from Lossa to Lanton was 10 Course, thence to Pundun 15 Course, then to [River] Don [? Dam-chu] 20 Course, when entered into the great Desart, and that hee accounted betwixt Lossa to Sunning 400 Course.

14 NEOPALL, CUTBY [? CUTTEE, KŪTĪ], LOSSA [LHĀSĀ]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25.

The way from Heatounda [Hataura] to Cautmondoo [Khatmandu, Nepāl] is very woody, where are many Tygers, &ca.; the way all up hill, some places very steep that is not passable for horses; no townes in the way, but out are some few a great way from the road, so that a man that travells thither must carry provisions along with him, otherwise must fast, being can light with none in the way upon the hills.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22.

From Heduuta [Hataura] to Neopoll all goods are carryed upon mens shoulders. At Neopoll are stately houses of brick and stone, and a pleasant and helsome place, but at some times the water bad. People civell. Hundoos [Hindus] governed by a Rojah whose

territories reach within 12 Course of Mossene [Maisī]. Betwixt Neopoll and Cutby, the way up and down hill, and goods are carried thither upon mens shoulders. The Neopolls government reacheth thither, where begins the great Lammas [Lāmā's], which they call Boot [Bhūt] or Bootan [Bhūtān] Country [Tibet], and alway [all the way] betwixt this and Lossa is the Musk Country, in which are aboundance; the people nasty, never washing but always olying [*sic*] themselves with stinking oyl. Here they hire Camels and horses to Lossa, where is the residence of [the] great Lama. Thither they travell most way betwixt vast hills, and in [the] way meet with severall townes, where want not for provisions. The road winds much, but true way from Cutly lies East or East Southerly. Upon Cutley [? Kūtī] hills the water so cold cannot drink it.

15. GOLD SAND

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25.

Here is great plenty of Gold Sand all over the Country, and especially at Lossa, wher[e it] is found in shallow rivers 4 or 5 inches deep, where a man may fetch it if will take the pains, but most hire the Natives, to whome give ½ Rupee per day, and what they gather carry to [the] Governor, who takes halfe; and the labarers sometimes will gather 4 or 5 rupees worth per day, or more or less as take pains and have fortune, and someti[m]es thick peeces of a rupee weight are found.

Their Coyne [currency] there is Gold sand, which they seale in a Clout, whereby tis made current, none counterfeiting the Kings seale, nor is any permitted to open the clout to see what is within it. What is

sealed in each clout is 5 rupees value, and if any break the seale hee must pay some small loss ; tis never sophisticated [adulterated].

16. GOODS TO LOSSA [LHĀSĀ]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22a.

Amber and Corrall beads, red, best. The Arminians also carry silks and chints, and silver striped silks, also beads of pure red hand wax. Before the women marry, they will ly with any man, but after tis d[e]ath. The Lamma [Dalai Lāmā] is as Pope, but meddles not with state affairs but refers them to his Duan [*Dīwān*, minister]. Many Sunosses [*Sannyāsis*] go to Salem [pay respects] to the Chief Lama, who gives them much Gold, to som 200 or 300 rupees worth. The Lamma hath but small guards and them all foot, but through his Kingdome is one in almost every house scattered. From Casmeer [Kashmīr] to Button Country [Tibet] is not far, but way dangerous for thieves and wild beasts ; also for 8 or 10 days meet with no water, so that Cosmeer people go by Pattana.

17. CASMEERE

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 12-12a.

(*a*) Casmere [Kashmīr] is a Country neare to Indostand ; it is in the Mogulls teritories ; the chiefe City is called Casmeere. It is distant from Neopoll not above 6 or 8 dayes jorney, which Neopoll is distant from Pattana North about 6 or 8 dayes jorney, being but 80 Course ; but betwixt Neopoll and Casmere the way is daingerous, by reason of the vast high mountains and great woods ; also for wild beasts &ca., so that the people which go from Pattana to Casmere

go by Agra and Dilly [Delhi], from the last of which it is 40 days jorney.

(*b*) Casmere in winter time is a cold place, and in it is much frost and thick ice, which will beare severall Elephants together. In it are great quantity of Grapes, apples, peares and other fruit as in England; many deare and also many beares, Tygers, &ca., but no snakes. Their houses are built of brick, some 8 or 9 stories high. They have great store of wheate, barley, rice, &ca., the latter of which is sometimes sold for 5 Maund 1 rupee; Grapes ½ maund for rupee; also aboundance of roses. They have excellent good wood, firr, &ca. box. as [in] England.

(*c*) They are excellently skilled in musick, and som of their instruments are plaid upon with a Stick of horse hare, as our base violds; only the instrument is made round in the middle, at one end of which, next to the strings, is covered with a Skin like a drum; but the skin being not biger than the ball of a mans hand. Their musick hath tunes much like ours in England.

(*d*) In it [Kashmīr] are Hindoos and people of severall Countries, but of the Natives their Prophet is Solomon who they say came thither and built their great Cities and brought a man and a woman from all Countries to inhabit theire.

(*e*) Their boats are built very long, some for 50 or 60 men to row in them, being exceeding long, and as broad at each end as in the middle, having the house to sit in placed at the fore end of the boate. They have excellent Carpets [rugs] of 100 rupees a peece. Their coynes are rupees and Cowries as in Indostand. They have great quantities of salt, which they dig out of Rock in vast great peeces, which is white and good.

Their drink is water and wine, the last of which is prohibited by the Moores to all but them selves, who drink great store of it.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22a.

(*f*) The people are very jocund and pleasant, and [the] place excellent pleasant, that none bring from thence any estates, but spend what get there, I mean straingers.

18. FIRR TREES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 21a.

There is great quantity of Firr trees [Himalayan *Coniferae*] which grow neare Neopoll and in Casmeer, many of which are by the Freshes broaken downe and drove downe the river Gunduck (Gandak). I have seene some of it, which hath beene taken up at Singee near Pattana. The Firr was greene and very oyly and clam [moist, sticky], and of an exceeding strong and good smell, and the same with ours in England, only greener and smells stronger.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25.

In the Raine times I see severall great peeces of Firr, which with the streame was driven downe the river Gunduck; tis supposed it came from towards Casmeer.

19. JAGGERNAUT

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25a.

The name Jaggernaut [Jagannāth] is Sinscreet [Sanskrit] and signifies the Master of the world, for "Jagger" [Jagat] signifies the World, and 'naut" [*nāth*] signifies Master. The place is high, built of Stone, and is a Land mark for travellers by Sea, being by the Sea side. 'Tis about 4 dayes jorney from Ballasore Southerly. Tis Chiefe place in India

whether the Hindoos resort to Visit, being the place [Pūrī, temple] in which is placed their chiefe stone God.

20. JAPAN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 21a.

(*a*) The Directore for the Dutch saith that the Natives [of Japan] will not do any drudging work, or any other, under one Rupee per day, money being so plentifull and provisions so scarce, or deare, and also that the Dutch are none of them permitted to go out of their Factory without leave from the Governor of the place, who seldome gives them leave to goe above 2 or 3 miles from their Factory. The Natives will not suffer any man of the Dutch to be Chiefe of the Dutch Factory above 2 years together. The said Director said that when hee had beene Chiefe there 2 yeares, the Governor sent to him to be gone, who desired leave to put his things aboard, but the Governor charged him at his perill to be gone immediately or else hee would cut of every Dutchman on shore and sink their vessells in the Road; so hee was forced to go away immediately and had not time to take his Scretore [escritoire] of papers with him.

(*b*) Hee saith the Natives are very just in their dealings and will not cheat in weight or measure; neither will they break their promise, but are very punctuall in performance thereof. I heard a Scotchman say that had been there about 6 months since, That when they went that voyage to Japan, they mist their Port and were by Stormes forced into another Port, which allarummed the Countrey, and the Governor of the towne sent for those that went on shore, who when came neare him, were forced to creep on

their hands and knees till they came within speech of him, who would not suffer them to hold up their heads till and when hee had spoke to them, who answered by a Dubash [interpreter] they had with them.

(*c*) The Governor asked them what they were, who answered Dutchmen, so hee demanded of them to swear they were not Christians. So one of the Quartermasters of the Ship swore that none belonging to the ship were Christians. Such is the Antipathy of the Natives [of Japan] to Christians and the villany of the Dutch, the former occasioned by some muteny formerly raised by the Portugees who were all cut of[f], man, woman and child upon the Island, and the latter by greediness after profitt. In Japan are Stilliards by which Gold and silver is weighed.

21. SPAHAWN TO SMERNA

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21a.

From Spahawn [Isfahān] in Persia to Smerna [Smyrna], which Armenians call Ismeer.

From Spahawne	Course.
To Cawshawn [Kashan]	30
To Chrome [Kum]	30
To Sowali [Sâwah, Sâveh]	20
To Asrassong [? Rizwān]	20
To Meanna [Miāneh]	40
To Zanagon [Zinjān]	15
To Tavaree [Tabrīz]	60
To Noxshavan [Nakh chevan]	30
To Jelfah [Julfa], this the first towne in Armenia	20
To Herreaven [Erivan]	30
To Uschesea [? Echmiadzin]	3
To Orzerung [Erzerum]	80
To Togut [Tokat]	80
To Smerna [Smyrna]	200
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NOTES ON CHAPTER VII

Since the remarks in this chapter are not the result of personal observation it has been thought unnecessary to verify or disprove all the statements. On the whole, Marshall's informants were fairly reliable, except as regards distances from place to place.

[The numbers of the notes refer to the corresponding sections in the chapter.]

1. "Banagur" represents Bānagarh, the fort or stronghold of Bāna, the traditional founder of Balasore.

2. (b) Bathing Festival at Hājīpur. See Chapter V, diary of 6th November, 1671, and note 11.

4. (b) The English factory at "Nanagur" was started in 1663. The earliest mention of the place is in a letter from Job Charnock to Henry Aldworth, dated 27th February, 1662-3 (see Foster, *English Factories*, 1661-64, p 287). Nanagarh, possibly Na-nagar, is probably represented by the Nowanagar of the modern *Survey Sheets*.

5. For an account of Henry Bard, Viscount Bellamount, ambassador to Persia and India, who died at Hodal in June 1656, see *Storia do Mogor*, i. 60-73. Marshall's "Hullul" and "Pallull" represent the "Hoorhull" and "Pullwall" of Rennell, and his "Hadull Pallull" the two villages combined—a common practice. See Chapter III, note 4.

The places named by Marshall in "the way betwixt Dilly and Pattana" are those on the ordinary caravan route of those days, and between "Agra and Pattana" they are practically identical with the halting places of Peter Mundy in his journey to and fro in 1632 (*Travels*, vol. ii. and map). "Vukely Surrey," within three stages of Patna, however, does not appear in Mundy's list, nor is there a place with a name anything like it on the route. Moreover, Marshall's informant was incorrect here, as Aganour (Aganūr) would be the next stage—just about 10 of his *kos* from Makrain. "Vukeley" may be meant for the next stage after Aganūr.

6. See Chapter II, diary of 5th March and 22nd April, 1670, where Marshall gives the distance by land from Balasore

to Hūglī and from Hūglī to Patna as 174 and 382½ miles respectively.

8. "Botton" was used by Marshall's informants to designate the whole tract of country including Bhūtān, Sikkim and Tibet, and often to indicate the latter country alone. The distance between Motihārī and Hataura in Nepāl is far greater than "8 course."

9. (*a*) "Botton or Cuttee" and "Nettee Cuttee," in 9 (*c*) are unintelligible. "Botton" is obviously Tibet. "Cuttee" = Kūtī *alias* Nilam Jong. See Chapter V note 2, for a similar remark on Morang and the hills visible from it.

10. (*d*) "Daupshaw" may be meant for Hind. *dhānchā*, skeleton, *i.e.* Bhīm's skeleton (hills).

"Mauhabor" probably represents the Mohoria range of hills.

"Dowka" may possibly be intended for Dhaulagiri, Dhāvalagīrī (Dewalāgīrī).

11. (*b*) The exchange of occupation between men and women sounds like a story of couvade (R.C.T.). Skulls made into cups or bowls may still frequently be seen. The description as regards clothes and the use of oil to keep out cold is accurate.

(*c*) Suling, Sulling, etc. are evidently meant for Si-ning (Hsi-Ning) or Sining fu, the important Chinese town to the east of Koko-nōr, in the Kan-su province of China.

(*d*) The remarks on "leachery" refer to polyandry as practised in the Himalayas (R.C T.).

(*g*) Mukhtār Ishāq, from whom Marshall obtained part of his information regarding Tibet, must have been a great traveller, if the story of the extent of his journeys is correct. Of his relations with Sir Heneage Finch, 1st Earl of Nottingham, 1621-1682, no confirmation has been found.

13. (*a*) "Lossa [Lhāsā] to Sunning [Si-ning]." "Corrassoo" is probably intended for Kara-Su(chu), the black river or water. Here again the information given to Marshall was quite incorrect. The distance from Lhāsa to Si-ning is greater than that from Patna to Lhāsā.

(*b*) If Marshall's "Don" is intended for the river Dam-chu, then his Armenian informant was also greatly mistaken as to distance, though his 400 *kos* from Lhāsa to Si-ning is much nearer the mark that that given by Mukhtār Ishāq.

17. (*a*) Al Biruni (i. 207) also speaks of, and describes the "City called Caasmeere," though he also calls it "Addishtan," but Abul Fazl writes "Srinagar is the capital," referring to the same place as Al Biruni.

Bernier, who visited Kashmir in 1665, like Marshall, says (*Travels*, ed. Vincent A. Smith, p. 397): "The capital of Kachemire bears the same name as the kingdom."

(*b*) Bernier also (*op. cit.* p. 396) remarks on the absence of "serpents" (and also of tigers) in Kashmir. As a matter of fact snakes are met with in every part of the district. The theory of their non-existence may have arisen from hearing of the belief that no poisonous snakes exist where the peak of Harāmak can be seen (see Lawrence, *Kashmir*, p. 55).

Bernier (p. 398) says that Kashmīrī houses were built "for the most part of wood" and only of "two to three stories."

(*c*) Marshall was incorrectly informed as to the similarity of English and Kashmīrī music.

(*d*) Here again Marshall received incorrect information or misunderstood his informant. The bulk of the Kashmīrīs are Muhammadans. For the Religion of Kashmīr, see Lawrence, *op. cit.* Chapter XI.

(*e*) For an account of Kashmīrī boats see Lawrence, pp. 381-2. For Kashmīrī shawls see Bernier's remarks (*op. cit.* pp. 403-4). The statement regarding salt is wrong, as none is found in the Valley, and it is an article of import.

19. For contemporary accounts of the Pagoda of Jagannāth see Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 12-14 and note.

20. (*a*) The "Directore for the Dutch" to whom Marshall was indebted for information regarding Japan was either Constantyn Ranst or François de Haese. The former was at the head of affairs of the Dutch in Bengal from 1669-1672 and the latter from 1672-1676 (see Chapter IV, note 74). Both had previously held office in Japan. The statement that no Dutchman retained his post in Japan "above 2 years together" is confirmed by the list of "chiefs" of the Japan factory given by Valentyn (*Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, v. Japan, 42-47), which shows that fresh appointments, with little more than a year's interval, were made from 1629-1724.

(*c*) The story of the murder of Portuguese in Japan possibly refers to the Imperial Edict of 1636 by which they were expelled from Nagasaki.

21. The distances between Isfahān and Smyrna, as supplied to Marshall, must not be relied on. The route is that followed by Chardin, and Marshall's "Zanagon" may represent Chardin's "Zengan" (Zinjān).

VIII

HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN RELIGIOUS ASCETICS

1. HINDOOS DEFINITION OF GOD AND CREATION

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23a.

They [the Brāhmans] say God is a Beeing that cannot be divided, and fills no place, yet is in every place, for no place is biger for his being in it. Hee created the world with one breath, for at that very time that hee thought of making the world, it was made.

2. GOD, SOULE, MATTER

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21a.

They say that God and mans soule are as the Sun and the light that flowes from it, and that matter is anything that is enlightened therewith.

3. ONE GOD

The Bramins, when write to any one alwayes writ १ or 1 first, to shew that there is but one God.

4. GOD

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 24a.

Hindoos say God is above, below and on all 4 sides of us; is seene by none and consequently cannot be knowne to be of any shape or colour; creates every

thing without time, for so soone as hee hath a will for any thing, tis immediately created : a beeing that ought to be honoured by all Beeings in the world, beeing he created them all and is the greatest of all Beeings. Hee cannot be divided, though is wholy every where, as the light of the Moon ; for the light shineth into every mans yard, and one man saith tis in his yard, another tis in his, and so every man said tis in his ; yet this is but all one light of the Moone.

The Hindoos have a saying That there is nothing without God or on the other side or beyond him ; and [they] say that men may be compared to a Candle within a Lanthorn, the Lanthorne being as God : so that the Candles sight and knowledge is limitted, for it can see or know nothing further or withoutside the Lanthorne ; but God can both see the Candle within and also himselfe, and what else out of our sight.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21.

God is the spermatick life in every thing, yet cannot properly be called part of any thing, being the thing is not greater or less for him.

5. BREATHING GODS NAME

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 6.

The Bamins [Brāmans] say That when a man breaths, his breath goes from his mouth the breadth of 12 fingers, and what he drawes within his mouth come[s] from within the distance of 12 fingers, and that when a man takes in his breath, he does pronounce the first part of Gods name (it alwayes having 2 sounds), and when lets out his breath, the latter part of Gods name, or that the first part of Gods name is lifte up

and the latter part let downe: as Raum [Rām], the Hindoos name for God, when a man pronounceth it distinctly, it is Rau-m, Rau being pronounced with the taking in of the breath, and (m) that letting it out; and so of Whoeah [Allah], the Moors name, or God in English, or Deus, or Theos; and so of any name of God except it be where God is called by a periphrasis.

6. GOD BEFORE THE WORLD

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24.

[The Brāhmans say] That God before [he] made the world, had the images of all things before in his mind, and delighted himself therewith, and when thought convenient, writ them downe, *i.e.* made the world, which was done in a moment. They have a saying: *Quodaka baut Quoda janny* [*Khudā kā bāt Khudā jānē*], *i.e.*, God knowes his owne voyce [God's word God knows] none else, but every man may read his writing.

7. MAN WHEN DIES

When man dies, they [the Brāhmans] say his thoughts wander and the last thing it [? he] thought of, it [his soul] enters into.

8. BODY FEELES NO PAIN

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24a.

They say That the body feeles no paine, but [except] when the Flesh is torne; then the soule is afraid of its dissolution and so feeles paine, as a bird doth when its cage is torne.

9. FIVE BOOTS: GODS ESSENCE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 20a.

There are 5 Boots [*bhūta*] or Devills to sport with: Root, Bulk, Leafe, Flower and Seed, and all these are but appendants to the naturall heat in the seed from whence they all flow, which the Bramins call God, which cannot be destroyed, but changed into something else. For hee alwayes acts alike, somtimes in one thing and sometimes in another. As the writeing in paper is not distinct as to its essence from the mind of him that wrote it, so the Essence of God [is] the same with mans Soule, which is the writeing of God:—That all are but one being, and the difference as seen is but the severall airs or winds &ca., for ill [*sic*, ? all] liveing is but the life of god, and every thing is proud of its owne being and thinks it selfe the best, as a Toad will use all possible means to preserve its life, and man can do no more.

10. BURMA CREATED: CREATION OF MAN &c.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 19.

(*a*) The Hindoos say that God when hee had made the Earth &ca. hee had a desire to have such a Being as Man, and immediately a flower arose out of the water and became Man, which was called Burma [Brahma], which signifieth in Sinscreet [Sanskrit] Language (made by God). But Burma desiring to have a Companion shook himselfe, and from his left arme fell a woman, which was called Debaut [? Devi], which signifies as much as That she came from the word of Burma.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 21-21a.

(*b*) [The Hindu Doctor at Patna] saith That when God thought it good to make the world, in that very minute it was made, for there was a flower sprung out of the water, which opening every side Man came out of it, which now is called Burma, who when see hee was made and knew not by whome, hee much admired [wondered], seeing none but himselfe. Hee tooke the flower out of which hee came, and pulling it up thrust it under water. After this Burma wiping his Eybrowes and some sweat or such like driping from thence, from which arose 7 men and one woman (which afterwards came to be the 8 persons preserved in the Flood).

(*c*) Then appeared to Burma a Fish (appearing upon the water) called Cutchooa (*kachhwā*, tortoise), which is a sort of Tortois. By this Fish was delivered to Burmah a Book in which was written all things that had been, was, and were to come, which Book the Hindoos now call Shasta [*Shāstra*]. Afterwards the fishes back became hard, and afterwards the Earth.

II. NOOH'S FLOOD: HINDOO WHY CALLED

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 20a-21.

(*a*) The Doctor at Pattana, Hindoo, told mee it is writ in their Book that 4732 years since, the Sea flowed so that all the Earth was covered with water except one hill, which lies very far to the South and is called Bind [? Sindh], upon which hill were preserved 7 Men and one women [*vizt.*], Sunnuck, Sunnund, Tritteech, Sannottah, Cuppyloshchaw, Suruschoy and Burroopung, the men and Dehootah, the woman, who was

wife to Cuppyloschaw. These understanding that the world would be drowned, it being so writ in their Bookes, they gathered together all their bookes and went thither, whether came two of all sorts of lives or creatures, male and female, which amounted to 8,400,000 lives, males and females, all sorts of herbes, trees and vegetables and animalls being here included. This Flood remained 120 years 5 months 5 days before all gone. This Cuppyloschaw and Dehottah begot Gowtummon [Gautama] a Sonn, and Soomboo a daughter, who begot 2 Sonns and 2 Daughters, and from them the world became inhabited. Amongst the number of creatures above mentioned, the fishes were also included, the fish before the flood dying for want of food.

(*b*) The name Hindoo is a corruption of Bindoo [Sindhū], which signifies all on this side the Hill Bind [Vindhya mountains], on which the creatures were preserved. The other Six men on the Hill Bind turned Fuckeers [*faqīr*] or Hermites and so continued all their life, being never married nor assistant to populate the world. Many other Braminies [Brāhmans] (for the 7 were of this Cast) endeavoured to get to that hill, but could not, having not power.

12. WORLD

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23a.

They [the Brāhmans] say that the World may be compared to a Tree which first came from the seed of one little substance, though upon the tree there bee wood, bark, leaves, &ca., all of divers natures, yet all proceeding from one root, which is nourished continually or else it perisheth. So the world consists

of severall sorts of Beeings of different natures, yet all proceeding from one root, which if not always nourished will perish. The breath of God they compare to that seed.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 33a-34.

B[r]amin[s] say all relligions in the world are but one, having all the same consciences or justice writ in every mans heart and if men did not act severally and divide their religions, rather ceremonies, the world would be but a flat story, and there would be no sport in it if no variety, which was the end for which God made it. For when at first there was but one man there was no sport, for hee could not do good or bad to any, he could not steal from or contend with any, being there was none to contend with, as a single thing can make no nois or sport; but when once beat against another, make a sound and often pleasant musick. So man when alone made no stir, but when once God had made many men, one beat against another and so made a delicate sport or Musick for God. So that hee set one man to steale from another; thence arose quarrells; thence lawes to prohibit and punish rogues. So that after[wards] every man began to look after selfe preservation, and to become carefull, considerate and witty; whereas if it had not beene so, there would have been nothing for man to have exercised his wit upon.

They say also that in the conclusion of all, every man shall have his Account Ballanced by Jemma [*jamā*, receipts] and Crutch [*kharch*, outgoings], or Debtor and Creditor, for they say that a man that now steals from another man, tis because that man had formerly stole from him in some other being; and

when one man murders another he had formerly murdered him.

I asked wherefore the first man stole or committed murder, being it could not be for to Ballance Accounts before were any. To which a Bamin [Brāhman] said, That God caused the first man to do it, for hee must cause it to begin in some, it matters not whome, being the Accounts will at length be Ballanced; and it would be alike sport to God to have one as to have the other to begin; for they do but borrow and must at length pay againe.

One Bamin then said, All the world is but one thing and the soules of men all but one, and gives this comparisson; as a man calls one thing a house, one a church, one a cup, one a bason, &ca. yet the same air is in all, and matter all one. So a man calls one a horse, another a bird, another a dog, another a tree and another a Man, yet in all is the same soule acting upon the same world, only divers parts of it which are diversly disposed, and the organs fitted divers ways, some better, some worse, some more, some fewer, which causeth all this variety in the world. And all this necessaryly flows from God, So that they have a saying, That none but fooles feare, and another *Mera*, *Mera*, *booja ka tera* [*Merā*, *merā*, *bujhā kā terā*], that is, fooles cry *Mera*, *Mera*, that is mine, mine, but the wise men say *booja* [*bujhā* = *bujhā huā ādmi*, the man who has understood] *ka tera*, that is, do but understand, and then What is thine; [what to the non-understanding is "mine," to the man who has attained true understanding is "thine"; *i.e.* there is really no mine or thine]. Also they say that a child very young will not lie, but so soone as begins to

learne selfe preservation, then begins to make the stage of the world sportfull.

13. RUTTONS

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 25a-26.

There are 14 Ruttons [*ratna*, *ratan*, jewel], or chiefe things, which God created with the world, out of which all necessaries for man flow (*vizt.*)

1 Latchan [*lakshmī*, wealth] or Riches, without which a man can live but sadly.

2 Coustuo [*kaustubh*, jewel of Vishnu] or Thought, without which a man would be weary of living.

3 Parjantuck [*pārijāta*, tree of Paradise], a Flowers name, which is by the Hindoos reckoned the chiefest of flowers, which represents smelling in generall.

4 Soor [*surā* (*amrita*)] or Wine, which is good to revive mans heart.

5 Dunnuntuck or Doctor of Physick [Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods], to prescribe physick for health.

6 Chaundramaund [*chandramā*] or the Moon, good for her light, &ca.

7 Gow Comdooka [Go Kāmadhuk (Kamaduh), Indra's cow (Kāmadhenu), cow of plenty] or a Cow, good for her milk, &ca.

8 Dewta [*devatva*] or Godliness or a clear Conscience, great satisfaction to man.

9 Hattee [*hāthi* = Airāvata, Airāvana, Indra's elephant] or Elephants, good for warr and state.

10 Ruambah [Rambhā, an *apsaras*, courtesan of *svarga*] or Woman, good to produce man.

11 Goorah [*ghorā*], or a Horse which is taken for the Sunn (by reason that the Sunn they report to be drawn by horses), good for heat &ca.

12 Horreedunnuck [Haridhanus, properly, Indradhanus], a Bow and arrow, good for fight.

13 Sunk [*sankh*], or a Pipe make of Chaunk shell, good, because when the Hindoos marry, with this they are summoned together.

14 Bick [*bikh*] or poyson, being the best physick, if well used.

14. PRE-EXISTENCE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21.

(*a*) [There are] 3 Species of being, 1 Good, 2 medium, 3 bad, as 1 Sunassees [*sannyāsis*], 2 Men, 3 Worl[dl] ings or Devills.

(*b*) One Bramin told mee That God made Heaven and Hell and consequently people for both.

15. NO FREEWILL WITH HINDOOS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 32a.

Serenaut [Srīnāth], the Bamin [Brāhman] Doctor at Pottana, saith tis writ in their Bookes That man hath no Freewill, and saith that mans heart may be compared to God as a Spider web is to a Spider, for which way soever the Spider draws, the Webb followes; or as a man that holds the Sail of a Ship, and as he turnes the saile, so the ship goes. So as God turnes the heart of man, so it acts, for they are one. And so hee saith That there is no such thing as Sinn in the world; and as for murders, thefts, &ca.—these are but sports to God and the persons instruments wher-

with hee playes. And as for the Bamins not killing any living creature or not eating flesh, etca., these are only to keep in awe the ignorant &ca., least should rebell.

Hee also saith that the Soule of man may be compared to the flame of a candle which when once is extinct, is no more; So our soules when leaves this body is annihilated as to [?] us. That tis like water which somtimes retains one colour, sometimes another. So God puts out our Soules from this body, at somtimes puts it into another body and at sometimes useth it no more. That all the Actions in the world are but sports to God, whereby hee pleaseth himselfe with changing them, and causeth some men to act one way, others another, and all their actions proceed from their heart or will, which is all one with God. So that man is but an instrument wherewith God sports and pleaseth himselfe, and the Soule which is the same with God, if God enlightens it in another body, it remembers not that it ever acted here before.

That God and mans Soule may be compared to the Sea and other water, for all water at first was in the Sea, yet knows not that it was so. Somtimes tis tinctured with one colour, somtimes with another, yet tis but all one water. So all is but one Soule, though in severall parts of the world and acting distinctly as to us, but as to God all one; as a Net that hath many turnings and winding, yet is but one thred and is for one use. So that the severall soules of men are but as sparkes of God kindling severall parts of the matter in the world in severall bodies or clays, where resides so long as the fewell is capable of giveing

nourishment to it, after which it extinguisheth and becomes what it was before it had kindled that clay.

16. BEADE SCIENCE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 19.

The Hindoos have a Book they call Beade [Bed-Veda], which is the foundation of all their Pollicy in Religion, whereby they make the people beleeve that whosoever knowes can have whatever hee desires. In it is the foundation of all their Diuras [*deurā*, temple] or churches, by which they tell the people, if they want such a thing then must repaire to Jaggarinaut [Jagannāth] or such a Diura; if want such a thing, then to such a place, and the like, which the people beleeve there is great vertue in them places, whereas they were contrived by the Bramins only to get money of those that resort to them. Also here is writ all their rules of morality and other Arts and sciences.

17. SHERRUM, SHAME

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 19a.

The Bramins say That Sherrum or Shame [*sharam*] is a Net in which all men are caught into trouble, for before it was borne, wee had not occasion of any thing but food.

18. STATE AFTER DEATH

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 18.

Some Bramins say, That this life is not reall, but a dream, and when a man dies this life will be to him as a dreame and hee will esteeme it so. And so [of] the removeall of all states; the last hee came from will seeme to him but a dreame, so hee will not consider

of it [at] all. That all are but thoughts in God and nothing in us, and that when man dies the last thought his mind was upon here, his soul will enter into it.

That mans soule is same with God; that it is not divisible, but enters into the seeds of man and woman at the time of copulation, when their seeds meet. So that when man dies, tis as when a man is suddenly struck upon the eyes with a feather—hee forgets what last hee see for a while; that there is alwayes same number of soules.

19. HINDOOS MUDDS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22.

The Hindoos say there are 8 Muds [*mada*, intoxication, desire] or Follies, by which all the World are besotted, *vizt.*, (1) Dunna-Mud [*dhana-mada*] or Riches, (2) Purrooa-mud [*putrya-mada*] or Friends and relations, (3) Cul-mud [*kula-mada*] or Nobleness of birth or Familie, (4) Joobund-mud [*yauvana-mada* (*kāmamada*)] or Youth, (5) Biddea-mud [*bidya* (*vidyā*)-*mada*] or Learning, (6) Rupe-mud [*rūp-mada*] or Beauty, (7) Bull-mud [*bal-mada*] or Strength, (8) Okul-mud [*'agl-mada* (*buddhi mada*)] or Wit, or judgement. And these 8 Muds are deluded by 5 Boots [*bhūta*] or Evill spirits, *vizt.*, the 5 Senses—hearing, seeing, feeling, tasting, smelling—each of which have their severall servants or objects, in all 23 [*sic*], *vizt.* Hearing hath 2, Good and bad; Seeing 5, Greene, Red, Yellow, White, Black; Feeling 8, Heavy, Light, hot, cold, hard, soft, pleasure, paine; Tasting 6, Sweet, Sower, Salt, Fresh, Bitter, Hot in tast.

They say that when God made man, hee sent these 8 Muds [*mada*] and 5 boots [*bhūta*] along with him

to see how they would agree, and what Government would be amongst them, so mixing them together, and then threw them several wayes, so that now some Men follow riches and delight in the objects of seeing, others in Strength and the object of [? feeling]; and so of the rest, being occasioned by their accidentall meeting with each other againe and endeavouring to rule over each other.

20. KISNY [KRISHNA]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 12.

(*a*) Amongst the Hindoos there was a man called Kisny, which was borne 417,000 yeares before the yeare of our Lord 1670. Hee hath lived and bin dead 10 times, and every time hath bin in severall shapes, as sometimes of a beast, sometimes of a man. When hee was borne, the King or Roja [Rājā] where hee lived, having it prophesied that Kisny would be his destruction, and to be sure to put him to death, hee caused all women to bring their children to one woman to suck, who had poysoned her paps, so that all Children that came to her were poysoned, untill this Kisny came to her, who bit of[f] her pap end and spit it out, and afterwards hee with his mother were forced to swim over a great River and got away.

At last Kisny died, about 5,700 years since, and according to the Hindoos manner (hee being a Hindoo), his corps were laid upon the fire, and a little burnt (his hands and feet being burnt of[f], and afterwards throwne into the River Ganges, and was driven downe with the Streame into the Sea below Point Palmeras in Orixa [Orissa], where hee was found to be turned into a peece of wood, which was found by a Braminy,

who guilded his head &ca. and built a House for him, which is now called Jaggary Not, from the name of Kisny, after called Jaggary Naut, which signifies the greatest in the world, or Master of the world.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 28.

(*b*) Hindoos say that Kisny hath beene in 9 bodies [*avatāra*], *vizt.*, (1) a Fish [Matsya]; (2) a Cutchoa [*kacchapa*, tortoise (Kūrma)], which is a sort of Tortois; (3) Hog [Varāhā]; (4) Satur [? *chatur*; four, for Narasimha, 4th *avatār*]; (5) Dwarfe [Vāmana]; (6) Purseram Roja [Parasu-Rāma]; (7) Rumchun [Rāmasandra] Roja; (8) Bulbuddur [Balabhadra]; (9) Jaggaranaut [Jagannāth]; and that hee will on[c]e more come againe [the future *avatāra*] and assume another body [Kalki], and after that no more.

21. BRAMINS PRAYERS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 19.

Some Bramins say that tis to no purpose to pray, for God is true and cannot alter his resolution, for then it would argue a dislike of what hee hath done, for hee hath made the world in such a link and chaine that one thing necessaryly followes the other; but by this they are taught to feare and be in subjection.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 20

Bramins say tis in vaine and ridiculous to pray to God who is the saime with the thing that prayeth, *vizt.* mans soule.

22. SPIRITS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 27.

Some Braminies say That those things we call Spirits that somtimes affright men, are only Beings of

an inferior sort to man, and that they never were the Soules of men, but are many of them utter enemies to mankind and bring sickness &ca. many times to them.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24.

They say that the soul of a male will always be a male, &ca.

23. SPIRITS OR DURSUNS [*darsan, darshana*, vision]

1. A man that receives a Letter from his friend; then hee thinks hee sees his friend or hath him in mind.
2. When a man heareth another spoken of, hee hath his image in his mind.
3. A Picture put[s] a mans image in the mind.
4. Dreames puts a mans image in the mind.

24. MANS LIFE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 9.

Some Bramins say Mans life may be compared to the leafe of a tree which growes till ripe, when stayes a while and then decayes till be rotten, when drops from the tree and will never grow againe. So mans life, when once gone, will grow no more.

25. COMPARISSON OF MEN

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16a.

Bramins say that diversity of men arise from the severall wayes they take, as a pond or spring which hath but one head and water, yet this water runing thorow severall sorts of clayes or soyles, colours the water accordingly; so men by their severall educations have had their hearts tinctured with various principles.

26. LIGHTNESS IN MAN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 24.

The Hindoos say tis writ in their Book that there [are] Six things which argues lightness in man, *vizt.*;

1. For an old man to keep company and play with boys.

2. For a man (in company before hath spoken any thing to any of the company that related to their discourse) on a sudden to fall in to Laughter at no body knows what.

3. For a man to reply to a woman when scoulds, or set his wit to hers.

4. For a man of a good and noble Familie to frequent sorded company and those of ignoble birth.

5. For a man to ride upon an Ass.

6. For a man in company to speak unseasonably that which nothing relates to their discourse or business, but to the interruption thereof.

27. LONG LIVED MEN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

Tis reported That some Hindoos can hold their breaths for some houres by an Art they have, which from their youth by degrees they acquired and from their principles; That God, to every man at his birth, gave so many breathings to be pent in his life, so that if by art they can protract their breathings, they can also protract the lengths of their lives and so come to live to vast ages.

28. HINDOOS 5 SENSES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18.

The Hindoos say that man hath 5 pleasures which they call Chushay [*khushi*], *vizt.* : (1) Sunna [*sāmi'a*] or Hearing, (2) Decknay [*dekhnā*] or Seeing, (3) Soockay [*sukhī*, happy] or Feeling, (4) Sowand [*sawād*] or Tast, and (5) Boah (*bū*] or Smelling.

30. ENDRIA [*indrīya*] 5, OR SENSES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23a.

The Hindoos say there are 5 sorts of Soules (1) A Tree hath feeling, being it can be killed. (2) Worme hath feeling and Tast. (3) An Ant hath Feeling, Tasting and Smelling. (4) A snake hath Feeling, Tast, Smelling and Seeing. (5) A Man hath Feeling, Tasting, Smelling, Seeing and Hearing; and under these 5 sorts all liveing creatures are comprehended.

30. DREAMES: CONSCIENCE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21a.

Some say tis impossible for a man that hath always been blind to dreame, and that Conscience proceeds from feare.

31. RICHES A CHEAT

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24.

They say Riches is a cheat, and that if a man did not indulge himselfe in it, as in excess of tast, or honour, or the like, hee would be happy.

Memorandum. The story of the Rojah [*rājā*], the woman and the Fuckeer [*faqīr*] and how they tempted him by his tast, which after brought trouble upon him, hee then longing and lusting after the woman, &ca.

32. FIVE ELEMENTS: FIVE COLOURS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 34.

They [Brāhmans] say there are 5 Elements, *vizt.*, Air, Water, Fire, Earth, Sky, and from these 5 Elements proceed 5 Colours, *vizt.*, from Air White; from Water, Greene; from Fire, Red; from Earth, Black; and from Sky, Yellow. All these five are called originalls, from whence all things and colours proceed, by the severall mixture of them.

33. SEVEN SEAS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26.

The Hindoos say that there are 7 Seas or originalls of moistures, *vizt.*; (1) Loon [*lon*] or Salt; (2) Milta [*mithāī*] or Sweetmeats; (3) Sherob [*sharāb*] or Wine; (4) Gue [*ghi*] or Butter; (5) Die [*dahī*] or a sort of Curds; (6) Dood [*dūdh*] or Milk; (7) Panny [*pāni*] or Water.

34. EIGHTY-FOUR LACK [*lakh*] OF CHUTES [*chhut*]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 20.

The Hindoos say That God breaths into 84 Lack of creatures, or there are 8,400,000 wombs from which ? al[l] species of beings flow.

35. MIRTH—MALANCHOLY

[The Hindoos say] That there is no such thing as malancholy in the world, for all things flow from the pleasantness of God, and al[l] things are in that order which most please him.

36. JAGGARANAUT

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

[Jagannāth] was a log of wood, and ordered by Inderdoomun [Indradyumna] to have a place built and hee put into it, and was commanded by Burma [Brahma] not to look at the Log of wood in 7 dayes, but let it be there a lone and it would become a man. But Inderdoomun, beeing desireous to looke, after 3 dayes time were expired, went in and found the Log of wood to have a face, but neither hands nor Legs, so that hee was imperfect because was seene before the 7 dayes were expired; and so now remains.

37. JOUGEES AND FUCKEERS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

(*a*) 'Tis said the Jougees [*jogī*] have a notable way of resolving of Questions, which they do this way: They will repeat to themselves such a number of prayers by their beads, and just when have done, will speak what comes into their mind first concerning the question, which they strongly think upon during all the time they are saiing their prayers, and thus they will resolve questions not [? most] ably. They will pray sometimes 2 or 3 houres to resolve the question, and if at that time (they have ended their prayers) they have any stop within themselves, they will not answer any thing to your question. And all this is done by the force of imagination, thinking strongly upon the question all the time they are praying.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16a.

(*b*) Some Jougees go stark naked, severall of which I have seen in India, and tis reported that the Hindoo

women will go to them and kiss the Jougees yard. Others ly [lay] somthing upon it when it stands, which the Jougees take to buy victualls with; and severall come to stroke it, thinking that there is a good deale of vertue in it, none having gone out of it as they say, for they ly not with women nor use any other way to vent their seed.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 21.

(*c*) There was a Fuckeer [*faqīr*] by Pattana who never beged or said any thing but *To tu isa* [*aisā*], *i.e.*, "Tis like you [so you are such]." So if any gave him any thing or abused him, this was his saying.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 8a.

(*d*) Tis very credibly reported that yearly some Fuckeers come from said [Kashmīr] hills to Pattana, where they wash in Ganges, [who] by their eating only herbs and roots, have such reamidies in Physick as hath not been heard of. They have at some times given powders to people when they have come, that have recovered them when almost dead, and hath in few howers made them as well as ever: but so soone as they have given it, go away with all speede, least they should be laid hold of and made to stay with the Moores, and so be deprived of their Hermiticall life. They have often given things which never failed to cause women to bring forth, and also to make old men quite dried up to be able to ly with young women everie night for some years together, without any injury done to their old bodies. But amongst the Fuckeers which yearly come in Thousands, there are but few exellent, and they never discovering themselves, except by great accident, as when they have received

Almes of some person almost languished. Then they give him a powder, &ca. and tell him how to use it and go away.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 8a.

(*e*) It is reported by these Moores and Hindoos that upon the Hills by Casmeere [Kashmīr] and also by Neopoll (Nepāl] that there are people live to 4 and 500 yeares of age. They can hold in their breath and ly as it were dead for some yeares, all which time their bodies are kept warme with oyles, &ca. They can fly, and change souls each with other or into any beast. They can transforme their bodies into what shapes they please and make them so plyable that then can draw them thorow a little hole, and wind and turne them like soft wax. They are mighty temperate in diet, eating nothing but milke, and a sort of graine they have. At first they use themselves to hold in their breaths for a very little time when young, and so more by little and little. There are schools of them, wherein they learne all the dayes of their lives, but not one in a Thousand attaine to the perfection of it. Tis reported that those people often fly to Jaggory Nut (Jagannāth] and there about to the seaside.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 9.

(*f*) In the corner betwixt Gunga [Ganga] and Gunduck [Gandak] lives a Fuckeer woman, a Hindoo, who all the yeare long begs, but stirs not from her house. The most boats that go by give her a pice, and think if they do not, they shall have bad fortune. Shee keepe[s] most of her money together untill that time that the Hindoos come thither from most parts to wash, and then buys victualls with it and gives it away to them. She is looked upon by the Hindoos

as an Oracle. Shee saith shee can hold her breath for ½ Gurry [*gharī*] or 12 [really 24] minutes of an houre.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

(*g*) Many Fuckeers when travell and are exceeding hungry, and can get no victualls, bind their bellies hard, and that a little assuages it.

(*h*) By report there are Fuckeers neare Neopoll [Nepāl] which always live upon the high Hills. Some live 2 or 300 years of age, and when their bodies are therewith decayed, they acquaint their friends that they desire to leave that body and assume another. So without any violence offered to their body, after their prayers said, they sit downe and die voluntarily and at what time they please, but before do acquaint their relations at what place they desire to assume a Body, at Agra or Dilly [Delhi], or the like. And then they leave their old body and go into the belly of a woman, and so is borne againe. After which, when comes to be somthing manly, hee writes unto former bodies relations that hee is in such a body, and that hee was formerly in the old body which hee so formally left, and that such and such tokens, reciteing such and such actions which hee had then done, not forgeting all the remarkable actions hee did in his former body. This I had from a Sober, Serious Fuckeer, a Hindoo, who saith hee hath conversed with many of the Fuckeers near Nepoll who had so changed their bodies, and also with severall persons who had received advises from some of their relations who had left their old bodies and assumed new ones. Many other strainge things they will do with their bodies, which they acquire from their childhood by great pains and use.

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 7a, 24-25.

(*i*) Hither [Hajīpur Bathing Festival] come aboundance of Fuckeers, some with their hands and armes held upright, which they have accustomed themselves so much too, that they cannot take them downe, and their fingers so folderd in each other that cannot loose them, and their nailes some 4 or 5 inches long. Their hands and armes thereby are as it were dead, being withered so that a man can scarce feele any pulse that they have. Some with their hands in other postures, and some with haire which reacheth downe behind them below the calfes of their leggs. Severall of these I have seene who go naked, not having any thing to cover their privy members. At Metchlepatam I have seen them.

(*j*) Hither tis reported come some Fuckeers that cure diseases to admiration [astonishment] by little pills, &ca., which they somtimes give to people they see in the way daingerously sick. But tis very rare, for they will not discover themselves least the Moores should lay hold of them and detaine them. But somtimes when see a man alone [they] go to him and give him one single pill, somtimes more (which they bid him eate, but not untill tis esteemd his disease is incurable); and away they run. I laid wait for to meet with one of these, but could not. Some of the Jorgees [*jogī*] or Hindoo Fuckeeres are said to be excellent good chymists and know exceedingly well how to kill Mineralls.

(*k*) The Fuckeers here are 40 or 50 in a Company. Some of them are very fat, and some exceeding leane; some that come from Tartary [Central Asia] which feed upon nothing but herbs and rootes, the nature of which they well know.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21 ; 4254, fols. 25-25a.

(*l*) Sunasses [*sannyāsi*] are right Phylosophers, which signifieth one that is not subject to passion, and that take[s] no care in the world, which thing brings all the evell upon a man. These Jougees or Sunossees are Fuckeers or beggars, which are Hindoos, which most of their lives travell through India, Tartary [Central Asia], China, &ca. They eat no flesh nor anything that is salt or hath salt in it. They ly with no women ; weare no coloths, but a cloth or skin over their middle ; powder themselves with a kind of dust which they make up into a hard cake. There are severall Casts [orders] of them. They cut not the hair on their heads or beards. Their generall meat is rice, herbs and roots, also milk which they will boyle untill 4/5 be boyled away, and the 1/5 they drink, which makes them very fat, as most of them are. Some of them understand the nature of herbs and roots very well, with which they are said to have cured strainge diseases at sometimes. About 2 or 3 months before Shawjahan [Shāh Jahān] dyed, hee commanded the great Dewra [*deurā*] at Bonnarras [Benares] to be pulled downe, who meeting with some opposition, cut in peeces all the Sunosses [*sannyāsī*] siting in it, who never flinched or removed from the posture they were in.

(*m*) Upon the 11th of November 1671 I sent for one of the Chiefe of them, which then was at Singee [Singhiyā]. His name was Bowannagere Gussanie [*i.e.* he was a *gosain* from Bhaunagar], with whome I had a great deale of discourse. Hee gave mee a little powder which he brake of[f] of the Cake which hee rubs himself over with, and bid mee weare it upon the

top of my head in my sash, or sow it in my hat crowne; and what ever I did (when had it about mee), should prosper. Hee bid mee put it into a copper box, not into a Gold or silver one, for then twould not be effectuall. Hee had many ceremonies before hee gave mee it, holding it in his hand, and puting his finger round about it severall times, puting it to his forhead, then bowing his head to the ground: then put it behind his eare in a paper, repeating somthing to himselfe; then puting it to his head againe, bid another of his companions to give mee it, which hee did standing and puting it to his head; and bid mee stand up to receive it, which I did, and after put it to my head, as hee ordered mee. Afterwards hee went away puting his hand all powdry on my head.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VIII

[The notes and remarks on the above chapter have been supplied by Sir Richard Temple, Bt., and Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University. The contributions of these two scholars are distinguished by their initials appended to the note or remark for which each is responsible.]

The Hindu part of Marshall's scattered remarks on religion and philosophy is the result of conversations with Hindus of education, more or less learned in a variety of Hindu Philosophies. They read like recollections of discussions on religious and philosophic subjects and exhibit some of the ideas and thoughts of the average educated Hindu of Marshall's day, which, as I have observed elsewhere, consisted of a complex of various Hindu philosophies, as influenced by Indian Sufiism and the views of the then recent mediaeval Hindu Reformers. It would require prolonged research to show the origin and history of each view put forward, and nowadays this would not be worth while. Still, the notes are valuable as showing what educated Hindus thought in Marshall's time, though of course we have their ideas only through his presentation. He does not, however, show much prejudice in his endeavours to record what they told him. R. C. T.

1. It is a great pity that Marshall has nowhere given the vernacular term he translates as 'God.' His note No. 1 reads like Hindu philosophic teaching with a Christian tinge, the words "Hee created the world" being probably added by Marshall himself. R. C. T.

2. This is an echo of the Advaita theory—the universality of the universal and the individual soul R. C. T.

3. The sign ꣑, however, is generally regarded as standing, not for the figure one, but for the elephant-driving hook, which represents Ganeśa, the elephant-headed Deity, whose presence is believed to remove all obstacles. G J.

3-4. Here we have reference to the Bhagavata doctrine of the One God. See *Lalla the Prophetess*, pp 38-9. R. C. T.

5. " Breathing Gods name " refers not to the name Rām but to the tripartite syllable *om*, which stands for *a-u-m* ; it represents God in the most comprehensive form. G. J.

Here we have the Hindu doctrine of the efficacy of the Holy Name—the Name of God—as a prayer. The note reads as if Marshall obtained his information from a *jogī* who had been a student of the Yogī Philosophy. See *Lalla the Prophetess*, pp. 167 ff. R. C. T.

6. The Hindustānī quotation here, a very common saying in Northern India, is in Muhammadan terms. *Khudā* is a Muhammadan not a Hindu word for God. Perhaps Marshall's Hindu teachers used *Khudā* all the way through so that he might understand them. R. C. T.

7. This is a confused reference to the doctrine of transmigration. R. C. T.

8. The idea here that pain is illusory seems to refer to the general Hindu doctrine of Māyā, Illusion—that the tangible world is illusory. See *Lalla the Prophetess*, p. 21. R. C. T.

9. The five " Boots " (*bhūta*) are not " Devills," but the five rudimentary substances, Earth, Water, Air, Fire, Ether. See No. 32 below. G. J.

The paragraph is a partial statement of two doctrines : (1) of the five *bhūta*, spirits, of material life in the Sankhya-Yoga Philosophy. They are part of the (25 to 36) *tattva* or stages in the evolution of the Universe ; (2) of the unlimited universal soul as distinguished from the limited individual soul. For an explanation of the doctrines see *Lalla the Prophetess*, pp. 29, 58, 114, 119, 124, 147. R. C. T.

10. (*a*) The statement is a garbled version of something Marshall was told about Brahma and the doctrine of Śakti, the female principle in evolution. R. C. T.

Marshall's translation is incorrect. Brahma does not mean " made by God " but " grown out (of God)." G. J.

(*b*) This is a jumble of several legends of Origin. The " 8 persons preserved in the Flood " are probably Marshall's own addition from Christian lore. R. C. T.

(*c*) *Shāstra* (*shāstra*, treatise) is a generic term for the Hindu Scriptures or Sacred Books. The tortoise is one of the *avātara* or incarnations of Vishnu. R. C. T.

Marshall has confused " fish " with " tortoise " (*kachhwā*). The two are distinct manifestations of God. G. J.

11. (*a*) The Hindu doctor was not referring to Noah's Flood, which is a Mesopotamian legend, but to a " dissolution " of the universe according to Hindu Philosophy (see *Lalla the Prophetess*,

pp. 195, 197, and for variants of the Indian story of the Deluge see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i. 181 ff.). The 8,400,000 lives refer to the Hindu Atomic Philosophy (Vaisheshika)—the 84 *lakh* (lacks) of lives, *i.e.* of atomic lives. The whole Hindu theory is that periodically the entire universe is dissolved and is reformed.

R. C. T.

The names of the " 7 Men and one woman," as spelt by Marshall, are absolutely unrecognisable by any ordinary reader. They are: (1) Sanaka, (2) Sanandana, (3) Sanātana, (4) Kapila, (5) Āsuri, (6) Bodhu, (7) Pañchashikha and Devahūti (the woman).

G. J.

(*b*) Marshall's version of the information supplied him on this point is so confused that it is not worth while to disentangle it R. C. T.

12. This is a reference to the teaching in some Hindu philosophic explanatory work. The note exhibits a fine mixture of belief. It begins with the Sufi (Muhammadan) doctrine of the unity of all religion, Sufiism being well established among Hindu teachers by Marshall's time. It then refers to the Hindu doctrine of the " Sports of Śiva," and winds up with the Persian doctrine of " Balance " out of Zoroastrianism. The answer to the question " wherefore the first man stole " reads like a reply *ad hoc*. The latter part of the argument is an illustration of the *Advaita* (non-duality, unity of Nature and God) doctrine The aphorism in the concluding paragraph is Vedānta Philosophy, found in the Upanishad. R. C. T.

With regard to the doctrine of " Balance," Dr. Ganganatha Jha is of opinion that this refers to the Law of Karma or Retribution.

13. The reference is to the *ratna*, the jewels or chief points in Hindu Philosophy. There is also a reference to the Hindu philosophic system of numbering or ticking off the points of an argument, which began with the Sankhya Philosophy. It is very general in India, and philosophic writers will talk of the 5 or the 6 or the 11, and so on, in a manner very bewildering to the European student. See *Lalla the Prophetess*, p. 60. R. C. T.

The translation of " Coustuo " (No. 2) as " Thought " is wrong. " Coustuo " represents *kaustubh*, a jewel worn by the Preserver-God, Vishnu. G. J.

" Goorah," *ghora* (No 11), does not stand for the " Sunn," but for Indra's horse. The sun, however, is also regarded as one of these *ratnas* along with the moon. G. J.

14. (*a*) Here again we see the habit of numbering or ticking off the points of an argument. In this case Marshall seems to have misunderstood his informant R. C. T

(*b*) **Here there appears to be a mistake, as 'heaven' and 'hell' are strictly speaking Semitic or Zoroastrian (Persian) and not Indian ideas, though no doubt by Marshall's time Semitic (Christian) and Zoroastrian ideas had permeated into India.**

R. C. T.

15. This is a general disquisition on the Hindu Philosophy of the Soul of Man, served up in bits. In the sentence "So as God turnes the heart of man, so it acts, for they are one," we have the great Hindu Advaita doctrine, the identity of Man and God, of the Universal and the Individual Soul. In the phrase "sports to God" the allusion is to the Sports of Śiva. The remark on Brahmans not killing is a little cynical and is not the usual explanation. In true Hindu doctrine the individual soul is not annihilated, but absorbed into the universal soul and so lost. The statement here alludes to the doctrine of reincarnation or many births for one soul (former births) and then to the idea of the "Sports of God" and to the doctrine of the unity of the individual soul with God. See *Lalla the Prophetess*, pp. 29, 59, 114, 130, 195. R. C. T.

The doctrine of "No Freewill" is an extreme view accepted by very few Hindus. Man's will is essentially free; if limited at all, it is limited by limitations imposed by the man's own past. It is interesting to note that the view here expressed by the Brahman doctor at Patna had come to influence Hindu life during its most degenerate days; and the days in which Marshall lived were certainly the most degenerate period of Hindu thought and morals. The Brahman doctor would also appear to have belonged to that depraved sect whose depravities were mercilessly exposed in a notorious criminal case in the Bombay High Court during the seventies of the nineteenth century. G. J.

16. The reference to the Vedas is very vague, as such references always are, for the reason that the ordinary Hindu can neither procure nor read them, and so always alludes to them vaguely as the "foundation" of his religion, which is only partially correct. The *deurā* is a temple which is a structure long post-Vedic. Every great temple or shrine or holy place has a *purāna* or archaeologia filled with fanciful legend. The "Arts and sciences" are not in the Vedas, but in old, though long subsequent, works. R. C. T.

18. This is a restatement of the doctrine of Illusion, of the Advaita Philosophy and of Rebirth. R. C. T.

19. This argument is part of the general Sānkhya Philosophy of the Evolution of the Universe in 25 (to 36) *tattva* or stages, of which the 5 *bhūta* and the 5 Senses (*indrīya*) are a portion.

R. C. T.

20. (*a*) This is a legend about Krishna to connect him with the great temple of Jagannāth (Juggernaut), the Lord of the World, at Pūrī in Orissa. R. C. T.

(*b*) This is a version of the legend of the *avatāra* (incarnations) of Vishnu as Krishna. The two are constantly mixed up in modern Hinduism. R. C. T.

The ninth *avatāra* is not "Jaggaranaut" (Jagannāth), but Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. G. J.

21. This is a common doctrine in Advaita Philosophy. Lalla says the same thing more than once about prayer: "Man being one with God, why pray?" R. C. T.

22. This reads rather like a modern statement to explain why ghosts (*bhūtas*) frighten mankind. The real reason apparently is that the spirits of the newly dead are inimical to the living. This doctrine seems to have come into Hinduism from primaeval animistic times. The belief that the soul of a male is not interchangeable is not a general idea. R. C. T.

23. The sayings in this section are in explanation of the term *darshana*, vision, not "spirits." R. C. T.

24. This is ordinary Hindu belief, as it seems to argue against the immortality of the soul, *i.e.* life. R. C. T.

25. This is from the Talaveda of Vallabhāchārya. R. C. T.

26. Here again we have the Hindu habit of ticking off the point of an argument or observation. R. C. T.

The correct transliteration of the *sloka* is as follows:

> Bālasakhitvamakāranahāsyam
> Strīsu virodhamasajjanamsitrī
> Rāsabhayāna masamskrtabānī
> Satsu naio laghutamupayāti. G. J.

27. Breath-control is a fundamental doctrine in the Yoga Philosophy. See *Lalla the Prophetess*, pp. 157, 165; see also No. 37 below. The explanation given to Marshall is unusual. R. C. T.

28-29. For the five *indriya* or Senses in Philosophy, see *Lalla*, p. 137. R. C. T.

32. Here is an allusion to the *tattva*, or points or stages of the Sānkhya-Yoga Philosophy, the "Element" and the "Colours" being part of them. See *Lalla*, pp. 118 ff. Marshall's perception must have been very keen for him to get the translation "Element" out of the vernacular terms he heard. R. C. T.

33. Here again we have the enumeration system. R. C. T.

34. Here is a statement of the Atomic Philosophy—the 84 *lakh* of lives. See above No. 11. R. C. T.

37. (*a*) There are two kinds of *jogī*: (i) the learned ascetic philosopher in Yoga or Sānkhya-Yoga; (ii) the wandering religious mendicant who is generally ignorant and often rascally. R. C. T.

(*b*) This statement is probably chiefly scandal. At the same time Hindu women will no doubt go to unthinkable lengths with religious mendicants. There is an infinite variety of them, and a certain number still wander about stark naked. R. C. T.

(*c*) A *faqīr* is a Muhammadan religious mendicant: a *jogī* is Hindu. But in common parlance they are mixed up and the terms used one for the other. The phrase, which is Hindūstānī, may be: "*to tumaisa*" = "so you [are] such"; "it is like you." R. C. T.

(*d*) Here the *faqīr* must really be a *jogī*, as he has come to bathe in the Ganges at Patna, a Hindu custom exclusively. Kashmīr is mainly a Muhammadan country under Hindu rule, just as Hyderabad is a Hindu country under Muhammadan rule So Hindus have had a great hold over Kashmīr, and both Hinduism and Islām are there taken broadly.

Religious mendicants are frequently quack doctors, and the belief in their miraculous power of healing is ineradicable. R. C. T.

(*e*) See above, No. 27

(*f*) Here the woman, being a Hindu, should properly be described as a *jogan* or *yoginī*. R. C. T.

(*g*) This is a well-known expedient in the British Army to keep off hunger. R. C. T.

(*h*) This is merely the doctrine of rebirth transferred to the "holy men" of a distant country. The *faqīr* here are obviously Hindu *jogī*. The theory is that the "reborn" body remembers its former lives in the mother's womb and vows to behave better in the life to come, but the moment it is born forgets everything. The other "strange things" refer to the claims of *jogī* as to miraculous capacities from the practice of Yoga. R. C. T.

(*i*) The Hājīpur Bathing Festival is identical with the great Sonepur Fair held at the full moon of the month of Kārtika. G. J.

Here again the *faqīr* are Hindu *jogī*. The statement is not an exaggeration. I have seen instances myself. R. C. T.

(*j*) This relates to the methods of some of the *jogī* in the practice of quackery. R. C. T.

(*k*) *faqr* (*faqar*) means poverty: *faqīr* is a "poor man," a mendicant. R. C. T.

(*l*) The *sannyāsi* is a member of the oldest and commonest type of religious mendicant or *jogi*. The term means "renouncer," and includes the greatest of the philosophic teachers as well as the wandering mendicant shams. R. C. T.

(*m*) " Bowanagere Gussanie " seems to denote some well-known *gosain* (another term for religious mendicant or teacher) from Bhaunagar in Kathiawar. He evidently gave Marshall a charm for good luck and performed a ceremony over it. R. C. T.

IX

ASTROLOGICAL, ASTRONOMICAL, METEOROLOGICAL, MATHEMATICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES

1. CONSTELLATIONS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16.

The Names of the Hindoo Constellations are Meas or Aries, Bris or Taurus, Mettun or Geminy, Corcut or Cancer, Sing or Leo, Cunne or Virgo, Tulla or Libra, Bissea or Scorpio, Downe or Sagittarius, Muckur or Capricornus, Cumb or Aquarius, and Min or Pisces. To every one of these Constellations belong 2 Syllables, by which the Hindoos know what house predominates over a man, or of what house hee is of, for by asking his name, not Surname, but Christian name or other name hee hath had given him since his birth, and which of the Syllables sound the nearest that names, that house they say they are of, the Syllables as follow (*vizt.*): for Meas his house, dal-la; for Bris his house, OO-bo &ca.; Coas-sah, Mittuns Dah-ha, Curcuts, Mautta Sing, Pottee Cunnes, Rat-ta Tullas, Noojah Bissea's, Dowpau Downe, Cogha Muckurs, Gussa Cumbs, Do-sa Mins. So that for Matthias Maut in Sings-house, for John

Jah in Bissea's house &ca. (Nilcunt [Nīlkanth]), Author.

2. NACHUTTURS, 27

They have also 27 Noted Starrs besides, which they say are wives to the Moon (*vizt.*).

1 Usshin, 2 Burrom, 3 Kirtigar, 4 Rodin, 5 Mergusshera, 6 Addra, 7 Cunnerbus, 8 Pussha, 9 Osshela, 10 Mogga, 11 Purbpulgoni, 12 Utturpulgoni, 13 Hustatarro, 14 Littra, 15 Swatty, 16 Bissoka, 17 Unrada, 18 Gesta, 19 Mulla, 20 Purbasheracore, 21 Uttara, 22 Surbona, 23 Donista, 24 Suttarissa, 25 Purbuhaddarut, 26 Utturhaddabut, 27 Rebuttee.

3. NACHUTTURS, 27

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 26a-27.

The Hindoo Doctor at Pattana saith there are 27 Nachutturs, 2¼ of which are to one Burge or Ross, so that in 27 dayes the Rosses goe rouns (*vizt.*) each being 2¼ dayes, which multiplied by 12 make 27: their names as follow (*vizt.*)—1 Assonee, 2 Burnee, 3 Ckirtgay, 4 Rohonee, 5 Mergisserah, 6 Addrah, 7 Ponorboshoo, 8 Pook, 9 Tobashekah, 10 Moggoh, 11 Poorboh, 12 Wuttarah, 13 Hustah, 14 Chuttra, 15 Swattee, 16 Bissauka, 17 Undradah, 18 Geostah, 19 Mool, 20 Poorbokar, 21 Uttrakar, 22 Srawanoh, 23 Donistah, 24 Suttawick, 25 Poorbawdra, 26 Utterbawdra, 27 Keewtee. That these last nine and the first five are men or males, That Adrah, Ponurboshoo and Pook are Eunuchs, and that the other 10 are women or Females. That 2¼ of these belong to each Boordg or house (*vizt.*), Assonee, Burnee and ¼ of

Ckirtgay, to Meok or Aries: ¾ of Ckirtgay, all Rohonee and ½ of Mergisseroh, to Brick or Taurus; &ca. [and so] of the rest.

4. NACHUTTURS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 34a.

The meaning of their Nachutturs I conceive to be this: tis the time the Moon remains in one house which is 2¼ dayes, which multiplyed by 12 make 27 days, which they call Nachutturs or days of the Moons age, So that shee runs thorow the 12 houses in 27 days.

5. NACHUTTURS

Harl. MS. 4255, fols. 2-20.

The Bamines make their Account by the 27 Nachutturs, Assomee, Burmee, &ca., as before in other Manuscripts. To every one of these Nachutturs belong 4 Monasyllibles, according to the sounds of which they give names to their children, according to the Nachuttur the child was borne in, 2¼ Nachutturs belonging to every house. The Nachuttur is nothing but the time that the Moon stays in each house, which is 2¼ days, which they divide into 9 Churns or quarturs (4 going to each Nachuttur): the Monisyllables as follow (*vizt.*):

Nachutturs.	Monisyllables.	Nachutturs.	Monisyllables
1	Choo, Che, Cho, Law.	8	Hoo, He Ho, Dhaw
2	Lee, Loo, Le, Lo.	9	Dee, Doo, De, Do.
3	Aw, Ee, Oo. E.	10	Mo, Mee, Moo, Me.
4	Ohu, Bo, Bee, Boo.	11	Mho, Taw, Te, Too.
5	Be, Bho, Ko, Kee.	12	Teh, Thoo, Po, Pee.
6	Coo, Gaw, Who, Chaw.	13	Poo, Koh, No, Tah.
7	Ke, Ko, Hoh, Hee.	14	Pe. Poh, Raw, Ree.

Nachutturs.	Monisyllables.	Nachutturs.	Monysyllables.
15	Roo, Re, Ko, Tawh.	22	Jhoo, Je, Jow, Kaw.
16	Tee, To, Te, Toh.	23	Cho, Kee, Koo, Ke.
17	No, Nee, Noo, Ne.	24	Go, Gee, Goo, Ge.
18	Noh, Jaw, Jee, Joo.	25	Gho, Saw, See, Soo.
19	Je, Jooh, Hoh, Ree.	26	Se, So. Do, Dee.
20	Boo, Daw, Por, Haw.	27	Doo, Toh, Jech, Gee.
21	Bea, Bo, Ja, Gee.	28	De, Doo, Chaw, Chee.

6. NACHUTTURS

The 1st, 2d and ¼ of the 3d Nachuttur belong to Aries; ¾ of the 3d, all the 4th and ½ of the 5th belong to Taurus; and so of the rest. Now when the Moone is in any signe or house, as suppose Aries, if shee bee newly entred into that signe, then shee is in Assonee; if at the latter end, then in the 3d Nachuttur; so that for the first Nachuttur, if any child be borne in it, if in the begining of it, then they give it such a name whose first Syllable shall be (Choo) or like it; if in the latter end of the first Nachuttur, then (Law) or a name of like sounds. The Moon running thorow the 12 houses or 27 Nachutturs in 27 days, they reckon one Nachuttur to every day and to each quarter of the Nachuttur they reckon 1 Pur or 3 houres. Here is reckoned 28 Nachutturs, the last of which is a Supernumerary, which I have not yet met with any that told mee the reason of it.

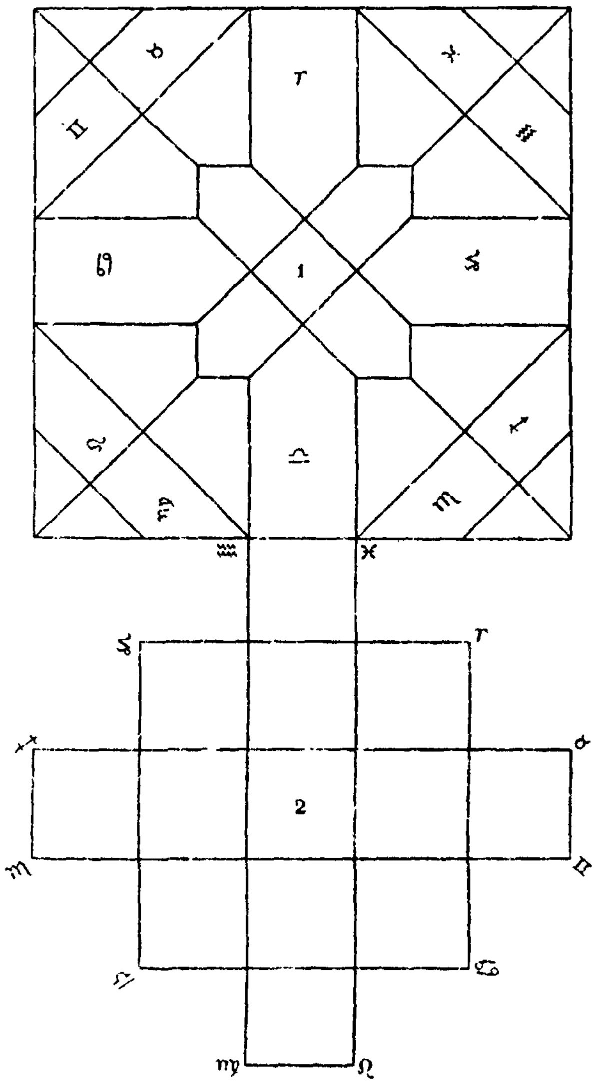
7. MARRIAGE

Bamins say That always a mans wife is of the opposit Ross to his, as if his be Aries, his wifes will be Libra; &ca. [and so] of others.

8.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 2a.

The 8, 17, 27, and 1 are accompted the best Nachutturs.



9. POSITION OF PLANETS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 3.

In the 2 Scheames in the foregoing page are drawne the forme of the Bamins s[c]heames, the first shewing the forme of the 12 Celestiall houses. The 2d is to know when any Planets will fight with each other, when enimies and when assist each other, when friends (*vizt.*): if ♄ be in Aries, then hee will fight with his enemie when in the same signe in ♋, in ♎ or in ♑, and will help his friends when in the same signes; also ♄ in ♉ will fight with his enimie when in same signe, in ♊, in ♍, in ♂ and help his friends in ditto signes; Also ♄ in ♓ will fight with his enemies when in ♉, in ♒, and in ♍ or when in same signes; and so in same manner when hee or any other of same Planets are in said or other signes in ditto figure, or rather all Planets that are in the same figure. The 4, 7: 10 from each other help, and those that are in the 6 and 12 from each other hinder, so that said rule is false in the scheame, except you always place the Planet you would know in that part of the Scheame, where I have placed ♈, and then will be true.

10. DISCORD OF PLANETS

♄ and ☉ are enemies but ☉ will beat ♄.

♄ and ♂ are enimies ♄ beats ♂.

♃ and ♀ are enimies and of equall force.

☉ and ☊ are enimies, ☊ beats ☉.

☿ and ☽ are enimies, ☽ beats ☿.

☽ and ☊ are enimies, ☊ beats ☽.

The Planets are friends with each other except as here mentioned.

If any bad Planet enter into a bad signe and at that time the ☽ is in a good signe opposit or antagonists to it, shee will asswage his malevolence.

11. PLANETS PLACES

Places of the Planets according to the Bamins Account January 4th 167½ and how long each stayeth in a signe and how long each hath beene in the signes they are in each year, being 360 days and each month 30 days.

	hath been			remains		whole		
	years	months	days	months	days	years	months	days
♄ in ♒	2	4	27	1	3	2	6	0
♃ in ♌	0	6	-	6	-	1	-	-
♂ in ♐	0	1	-	0	15	0	1	15
☉ in ♑	0	0	6	0	24	0	1	0
♀ in ♐	0	0	20	0	10	0	1	0
☿ in ♑	0	0	3	0	15	0	0	18
☽ in ♋	entred at Sunrise.							2¼
☊ in ♓	1	5	5	0	25	1	6	0

This Dragons head moves always backward and after 25 days will be in ♒; the rest of the Planets move forward from ♈ to ♉ &ca.

The Places of the Planets in Mr. [Job] Charnocks Scheame.

♄ in ♋	
♃ in ♓	☿ in ♉.
♂ in ♑	☽ in ♍.
☉ in ♉	☊ in ♒.
♀ in ♊	☋ in ♌.

12. [" ROSSES "]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 3a.

Ros	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	☊
♈	Sickness have 1st year sickness else good	good	red eyes bad	bad slender and leane	good	good	very good	bad for sickness and poverty.
♉	poor otherwise good	good rich	bad poor	bad poor	good	good	good rich	bad poor
♊	brothers all dy good for the natives	indifferent	brothers dy	younger brothers dy	many brothers good	good	many brothers good	eldest and youngest brothers dy els good
♋	bad for the mother shee dy, good for native	good	good	good	good mother long lived	good	good	many children native have swelled sides
♌	sonns dy els good	good	sonns dy els good	sonns squint eys. els good	many children good	very morose good	good	children dy indifferent for native
♍	overcome enimies good	many powerfull enimies bad	overcome enimies good	great enimies when fight who wound will be in the thigh not very bad for native	indifferent	kill enimies good	many enimies bad	much contention bot overcome

♎	one wife dy then marry another good	rich wife good	bad wife bad	leane wife not benefitted by his relations but get his own living	wife squint eyed, else good	good wife rich	good wife good	bad wife shee dy, else good
♏	Sickly else good	peevish and angry bad	good	sickly bad	bad	indifferent	dy when 8 years old, bad	Sickly escape being drowned and burned
♐	good	good	good	travell much bad	good give much to poor	give much to poor liberall good	good	covetous and miserable sordid bad
♑	good	good	best	gaine by tradeing good	rich gaine by shiping	good	good	loss by tradeing bad
♒	best	good	very good	good	good	good	good	very good
♓	Sickly poor spend all bad	poor contemptable	spend much have a disease that the fingers drop of bad	blind right ey	sore eyes run bad	indifferent	blind on left ey els good	spend much else good

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 4.

The Bramins account much by the Ross, that is the place of the Moon at the time of birth so that if a child be borne when the Moon is in ♈, his Ross is ♈ &ca. In the foregoing page is writ the 12 Signes and the 7 Planets and Dragons head by which to know in any Ross what Starrs, if then in the same ross, are good or bad (*vizt.*), if the ross be ♈ and Saturne be then in ♈ ♄ will give the native 1st years sickness and the Native will be of a sickly temper, else for other things ♄ will be good. If ♃ be in ♈ when the Ross is ♈ then ♃ will do good and help the Native. So ♂ in ♈ when the Ros is ♈ will cause red eyes, and so of the rest in ditto or other Signes, as in the foregoing columns.

13. HORARY QUESTIONS

By the 2 figures in the Second Page the Bramins resolve all horary or other questions (*vizt.*); first enquire the persons name and by the monisyllable in the 1st page (*vizt.*) Choo, Chee, &ca. you will find out of what Ross or house hee is, that is what signe the Moon was in at the time of the Natives birth. Then place that house of which the Querent is in that place of the scheame in 1st page where ♈ is placed. As for example; Suppose a person (whose Ross is ♉) asketh a question, place ♉ in that place of the Scheame where ♈ is placed, and ♊ in that place where ♉ is placed in the Scheame, and so of the rest, So that ♈ will be placed in that place of the scheame where Pisces now stands. Then (having placed them so) place every Planet in the signe it is in when the Question demanded and those persons that happen

to bee in the same signe the Querents Ross is, or in 4th: 7th: or 10th: from it, will assist the Querent, but them in the 6th: or 12th: house from the Querents ross, will hinder him and be his enimies.

14. WHAT PLANETS BEFRIEND EACH HOUSE

☉ ♂ are friends to ♈	♄ friend to ♎.
♀ ☽ friends to ♉	♂ friend [to] ♏.
☿ friend to ♊	♃ friend to ♐.
♃ friend to ♋	[♑ is omitted by Marshall]
☉ friend to ♌	♄ friend to ♒.
☿ friend to ♍	♃ friend to ♓.

15. NACHUTTURS

See Table pages 222, 223.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 5.

By the following table of Rosses and Nachutturs, to know what Nachutturs are bad in every Ross (*vizt.*), when a persons Ross is ♈ then the first Nachuttur is bad, the 10, 11 and ¼ first of 12 bad, So if the Ross be ♉ then the ¼ first of the 5th Nachuttur is bad, the first quarter of the 8th Nachuttur is bad, that is the time is not good to undertake anything when the Moon is in such a Nachuttur, and so of the rest; and all the Nachutturs which are not mentioned in the said table to be bad, are good.

15. NACHUTTURS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 4a.

Nach-utturs.	Ros ♈	Ros ♉	Ros ♊	Ros ♋	Ros ♌	Ros ♍	Ros ♎	Ros ♏	Ros ♐	Ros ♑	Ros ♒	Ros ♓
1	bad	—	—	bad								
2	—	—	—	bad								
3	—	—	—	¼ first bad								
4												
5	—	¼ first bad										
6	—	—	bad									
7	—	—	bad	—	—	¾ last bad						
8	—	¼ first bad	¼ first bad	bad								
9	—	—	—	bad	—	—	—	—	bad			
10	bad	bad	—	¼ first bad	bad	bad	—	—	bad	bad		
11	bad	¼ first bad	—	bad	bad	bad	—	—	¼ first bad			
12	¼ first bad	—	—	bad	¼ first bad	¼ first bad	—	—	¾ first bad			
13	—	bad	—	—	—	¼ first bad						

14	—	bad	bad	—	—	—	—	¾ first bad				
15	—	¼ first bad	bad									
16	bad	—	¼ first bad	bad								
17	—	—	—	bad								
18	bad	—	bad	¼ first bad	bad	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad
19	bad	—	bad	bad	bad	—	bad					
20	¼ first bad	—	¼ first bad	bad	¼ first bad	—	¼ first bad	—	—	bad		
21	—	—	—	bad	—	—	—	—	—	bad		
22	—	—	—	¼ first bad	—	—	—	—	—	¼ first bad	bad	
23	bad	—	—	bad	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad	
24	bad	—	bad	bad	—	—	—	bad	—	—	¼ first bad	bad
25	¼ first bad	—	bad	¼ first bad	—	¾ last bad						
26	—	—	¼ first bad	—	bad							
27	—	bad	—	—	bad	—	—	—	—	—	¾ last bad	
28												

16. SIX HOUSES GOOD, SIX BAD

The Bramins make a difference in the houses and say that ♉, ♊, ♋, ♍, , ♎ ♐, are good houses, and the other 6 are bad.

17. SEVEN PLANETS

Saturne gives riches, ♃ marriage, ♂ fighting, ☉ mirth, and content, ♀ Travell, ☿ Witt, ☽ all things that are good, ☊ Fighting and contention.

18. KINGS NATIVITY

They say That that Native who [is] borne (when ♄ is in ♎, ♃ in ♋, ♂ in ♑, ☉ in ♈, ♀ in ♓ and ☊ in ♍) will come to bee a King.

19. 6000 NA[C]HUTTURS

There was one Bramin told mee that the reason of Coljoog was That there are 6000 Bahutturs [*sic*] or Starrs which move round in so many years, which multiplied by 72 make 432000 yeares which is their Colljoog.

20. BURMEER BIAS

A Bamin saith That they had their Astrologie from Burmere (who brought some of it from a Countrey Westward called Lunka), And from Byas who brought the rest from Hordowar and also got some from the Sunn and some from a Snake which sprung out of the ground.

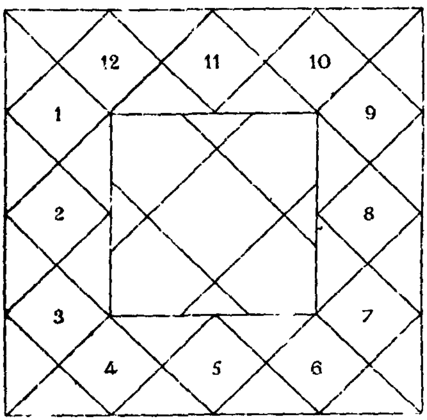
21. FOUR HOUSES SEE NOT ANY OTHERS

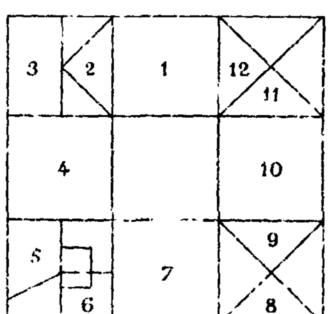
They say that there are 4 houses which see none of the rest nor do any of the Planets whilst in any other signe either do good or hurt (*vizt.*), the 2d, 6th, 11th, 12th houses, but Planets when in them effect alone

and are neither assisted nor impeded by any Planets from any other house.

22. [" CELESTIALL HOUSES," &c.]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 5a.





The uppermost is the Scheame of the 12 celestiall houses which the Bramins erect for a Nativity though they have other ways.

And the lower is the Scheame they make for the Moone at the time of the Natives birth.

23. [" HORARY QUESTIONS "]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 6a.

	1. 4. 7. 10	6. 12.
♄	If any question be asked what are in a mans thoughts Answer Earth, flowers, howses, &ca. inanimate creatures.	Answer That the thought was of fighting and that hee will overcome his enimies.
♃	Answer That the thought was on some living creature.	Answer That thought was on living things but will never obtain them.
♂	Answer That the thought was on wealth.	Answer That the thought was on wealth but will not obtaine them.
☉	Answer Thought was on wealth.	Answer if in 12th house, then of travell if in 6 Then of wealth which will not obtaine.
♀	Answer Thought was on living creatures.	Answer Thought was on servants which shall not obtaine.
☿	Answer as to	Answer as to ♀.
☽	Answer thought was on living things.	Answer Thought was on living things which shall never enjoy.
☋	Answer Thought was on Iron or Armour.	Answer Thought on enimies, but beat them.

The meaning of the foregoing Table is. That if a man knowes what ross or what house the ☽ was in

when another was borne, hee may tell him his thought (*vizt.*), If ♄ raignes in the 1. 4. 7. 10 houses from the querents Ross (reckoning it for one) when the question asked, then was the querents thoughts of Earth flowers &ca., and if in the ♋ or 12 house Then of fighting &ca.; and so of ♃, ♂ ☉ &ca. in ditto houses as above.

24. SIGNS RULED BY THE PLANETS

See Table pages 228, 229.

25. [SIGNS RULED BY THE PLANETS]

In the lowest Column is writ what planets govern what houses.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 7. 24 and 25. [SIGNS RULED BY THE PLANETS]

	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	☋
♈	gurries 40 bad	good for native bad for Querent	good for native bad for Querent	bad both	good both	good both	good both	bad both
♉	polluck 5 bad	good for native medium for Querent	bad both	bad both	good both	good both	good both	natives horses &ca. animals dy Querent loss
♊	1 day bad	good for native bad for Querent	good both	natives brothers dy good for Querent	good both	good both	good for natives brothers good for Querent	good both
♋	pol 56 bad	medium both	good both	bad both	bad both	bad both	bad both	native short lived bad for Querent
♌	3 days very bad	good both	good both	natives children dy. good for Querent	native have many children. good for Querent	good both	bad both	bad both
♍	3 days good	bad both	good both	good both	native medium bad for Querent	medium both	bad for native good for Querent	good both
♎	7 days good	good both	bad both	Natives wife sickly. good for Querent	Natives eyes run his wife black, father dy. good for Querent	good both	good both	Natives wife dy, Querents wife sick

♏	2 days bad	bad both	bad both	bad both	medium both	medium both	bad both	Natives father tra-vell Que-rent travell
♐	7 days bad	good both	bad both	bad both	good both	good both	good both	good both
♑	1 day good	Native good. bad for Que rent	good both	Natives father sick good for Querent	Native marrie well good for Querent	good both	good both	good both
♒	5 dayes good	medium both	good both	Native rich Querent rich	good both	good both	good both	good both
♓	4 days bad	medium both	medium both	Natives right ey squint medium Querent	medium both	Native kill himselfe medium for Querent	Natives left ey squint medium for Querent	Native spend much Querent spend much
	♄ Lord ♑. ♒	♃ Lord ♐. ♓	♂ Lord ♈. ♏	☉ Lord ♌	♀ Lady ♉. ♎	☿ Lord ♊. ♍	☽ Lord ♋	

The above Columns are to shew when every Planet and the Dragons head are in each of the 12 houses, what their forces are in generall both to the Native and Querent. ♄ raigning in each house $2\frac{1}{2}$ yeares, but his strength no longer than in the above mentioned, as in ♈ 40 gurries, in ♉, 50 pol. in ♊ one day &ca. ; all the rest of the planets and dragons head raign their full time of durance in the house, and above is writ down under each when they are good and when bad, both for him whose Ross is of that house and also for any who shall ask any question when any of them are in the above houses, as ♃ in ♈ is good for any man whose Ross is ♈ that is when it comes into that house, but is bad for any man who shall ask a question when ♃ is there, &ca. of the rest.

26. STARS IN EVERY HOUSE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 8a.

	Sunday.	Munday.	Tuesday.	Wednes-day.	Thurs-day.	Fryday.	Satur-day.
bad ♄	4, 5, 7	2, 6, 7	2, 6, 7	3, 4, 5	3, 7, 8	2, 3, 4	1, 6, 8
♃	3	8	4	9	11	11	5
bad ♂	30	3	3	6	5	7	2
bad ☉	1, 2	4	25	7	18	22	29
♀	13	10	12	10	15	13	9
☿	22	16	20	18	27	20	21
☽	6	12	9	14	24	19	25
	♌ 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	♋ 1, 5, 9, 11, 13	♈, ♏ 15, 8, 10 11	♊, ♍ 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12	♐, ♓ 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12	♉, ♎ 1, 5, 6, 8, 4, 10	♑, ♒ 3, 4, 7
	&ca rest what not	&ca rest	&ca rest	&ca	&ca rest	&ca rest	&ca rest
	before	not before	not before	rest not before	not before	not before	not before
	♈ 45	♉ 30	♊ 20	♋ 60	♌ 49	♍ 60	♎ 40
	♏ 90	♐ 75	♑ 80	♒ 80	♓ 72	—	—

The Uppermost Columns are to shew what houres in every day the Planets rule. Example: on ☉ day ♄ rules the 4th, 5 and 7 gurries both day and night, ♃ rules the 3rd, ♂ the 30th both day and night, and so on ☽ day ♄ rules the 2d, 6, 7th Gurrics, ♃ the 8th, and so of the rest; but being the Planets do not

rule all the Gurries in the day, the remainder of the Gurries are governed by the houses which is governed by the planets that gives names to the dayes in the above Colums, as ♌ the remaining gurries on ☉ day &ca. ♄, ♂, ☉, are bad and rest good for all men. The last of the Collums is to shew how many starrs belong to each house as ♈ 45 to ♉ 30 &ca.

27. PLANETS RAIGNE IN THE YEARE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 9a.

The Bramins make in their yeare 360 dayes which the 7 Planets raigne as follow, begining to account from the Ross or house that the Native is of as (if of ♈) reckon the ☉ raignes 20 dayes after its entrance into ♈; if of ♉ Ross, then the ☉ raignes 20 dayes over the Native after its entrance into ♉; and so of other Ross, and after the ☉ hath raigned 20 dayes then ☽ raignes 50 dayes as followeth &ca. (*vizt.*)

		days.	
☉	Raignes	20—bad.	♄ is bad, gives sickness, cold, &ca.
☽	,,	50—good	☉ bad, gives sickness.
♂	,,	28—bad.	☋ bad, gives contention.
☿	,,	56—good.	♂ bad, gives travell and loss.
♄	,,	36—bad.	☽ good for profit
♃	,,	58—good.	☿ good for ditto.
☋	,,	42—bad.	♃ very good for every thing.
♀	,,	70—good.	♀ ditto
		360	

28. TO PACIFIE THE PLANETS

If these Planets light so [as] to contend with each other the Bamins say they must be appeased as followeth

(*vizt.*) ♄ by giving to him somthing that is black, ♃ by somthing that is red, ♂ by ditto, ☉ by Ditto, ♀ by somthing that is white, ☿ by somthing yellow, ☽ by somthing that is white, and so they perswade the silly people to asswage the furie of the Planets by geting to themselves profit; but somtimes the things are given or sacrificed to the end the poore may have it, by reason whereof they accrew to themselves thankes for it.

29. ["RAIGNES" OF THE PLANETS]

In the particular raignes of these Planets the yeare or 360 dayes each Planet raignes within their raigne as within the ☉ 20 dayes ☉ raignes 1 day: 6 gurries: 40 pol., ☽ raignes 2 days: 40 gurries: 40 pol.: and so of the rest, So that within the ☉s 20 days raigne, all the 7 Planets raigne and dragons head, though not equally, and so of the raigne of ☽ 50 dayes &ca. rest, as in the next page, wherein also is writ which are good and which bad dayes or raigns, alwayes begining to account from the ☉ entring into that Ross that the Native was of, and reccon the first 20 days for ☉, the next 50 dayes for ☽, and so of the rest as follow (*vizt.*).

See Table pages 234, 235

30. ["RAIGNES" OF THE PLANETS.]

According to the above Column, the planets rule their parts as first ☉ next ☽, next ♂, next ☿, next ♄, next ♃, next ☊, next ♀, and under their raignes the planets particular raignes, as under ☉ how much hee raignes, how much the ☽ &ca. of the rest, wherein

I have writ which are bad by the mark (ba: or bad) and by all the rest (where nothing is writ) are good. If a Planet happens to raigne in a house in which his enimie is, then they will fight and the strongest will overcome, as if any Planet comes to raigne in ♈, when ♄ is in that house (if weaker than ♄) then ♄ will overcome him. This account is to be accounted from the suns entring into that Ross the Native is of.

31. CLOUDS: WIND: FIGHTING

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 10a.

(*a*) When ♂ and ☉ are in one house, then they cause cloudy weather.

When ♃ and ☽ in one house, then ditto.

When ☿ and ☽ in one house, then wind.

(*b*) When ♄, ☋ and ☉ in one house, then great fighting.

32. WIFES ROSS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 11.

(*a*) The Bramins say That olways a mans wifes Ross is the 7th house from his, as example: if a man be of ♈, that is the Moone was in ♈ when he was borne, Then his wifes Ross will be ♎, that is the Moone was in Libra when shee was borne; and so of the rest; as if in ♊, then wifes in ♐, &ca.

(*b*) This much of Liber A coppied, ending Januarie le 20th 167½.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 10.

	☉ 20 days.					☽ 50 days.					♂ 28 days.					☿ 56 days.			
		days	gur.	pol.			days	gur.	pol.			days	gur.	pol.			days	gur.	pol.
☉	bad	1	6	40	☽	—	6	56	40	♂	bad	2	10	40	☿	—	8	42	40
☽	—	2	40	40	♂	bad	3	53	20	☿	—	4	21	20	♄	bad	5	36	0
♂	bad	1	33	20	☿	bad	7	40	40	♄	bad	2	48	0	♃	—	9	1	20
☿	—	3	6	40	♄	—	5	0	0	♃	—	4	30	40	☋	bad	6	32	0
♄	bad	2	0	0	♃	—	8	7	20	☋	bad	3	10	0	♀	—	10	53	10
♃	—	3	13	20	☋	bad	5	25	20	♀	—	5	26	40	☉	—	3	6	40
☋	bad	2	20	0	♀	—	9	43	20	☉	bad	1	23	30	☽	bad	7	40	40
♀	—	3	53	20	☉	—	2	40	40	☽	—	3	53	20	♂	—	4	21	30
		19	54	00			49	27	20			27	50	10			55	54	0
	wanting	0	6	00		wanting	0	32	40		wanting	0	9	30		wanting	0	6	0
		20	00	00			50	0	0			28	0	0			56	0	0

	♄ 36 days.					♃ 58 days.					☊ 42 days.					♀ 70 days.		
		days	gur.	pol.			days	gur.	pol.			days	gur.	pol.			days	gur.	pol.
♄	bad	3	36	00	♃	—	9	20	40	☋	bad	4	54	0	♀	—	13	36	40
♃	—	5	48	0	☋	bad	6	40	0	♀	—	8	10	0	☉	—	3	56	20
☋	—	4	12	0	♀	bad	11	16	40	☉	bad	2	20	0	☽	—	9	43	20
♀	—	7	0	0	☉	—	3	13	20	☽	bad	5	50	0	♂	—	5	40	40
☉	bad	2	0	0	☽	—	8	3	20	♂	—	3	16	0	☿	—	10	53	20
☽	—	5	0	0	♂	—	4	30	40	☿	—	6	32	0	♄	bad	7	0	0
♂	—	2	48	0	☿	—	9	1	20	♄	—	4	12	0	♃	bad	11	16	40
☿	—	5	36	0	♄	bad	5	48	0	♃	—	6	40	0	☋	—	8	10	0
		36	0	0			57	54	0			41	54	0			70	17	0
						wanting	0	6	0		wanting	0	6	0		over	0	17	0
							58	0	0			42	0	0			70	0	0

33. [PLANETS AND HOUSES]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 11a.

		♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	☊
♈	1	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	good	bad
♉	2	bad	good	bad	bad	bad	good	bad	bad
♊	3	good	bad	good	good	bad	bad	good	good
♋	4	bad	medium	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad
♌	5	have children good	good	bad	bad	bad	good	bad	bad
♍	6	good	bad	good	good	bad	bad	good	good
♎	7	marrie good	good	bad	bad	good	good	good	bad
♏	8	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad
♐	9	riches good	good	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad
♑	10	riches good	bad	good	good	good	bad	good	good
♒	11	very good	medium	good	good	bad	good	good	good
♓	12	very bad	medium	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad	bad

The foregoing Scheame is to shew when any of the Planets are good and when bad for every Ross alike, as example; when ♄ is in ♈ or 1st house, tis bad; if in 2d house or ♉ then bad; if in 3d house or ♊

then good. This is in generall for all persons or Kingdomes &ca.

34. EXCEPTION

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 12.

Only there is this exception (vizt.), You must always observe (when you would know whether a Planet be good or bad) what house the Planet is of accounting from ♈, as if in Pisces, then is in the 12th house; if in ♒ then in the 4th house. Also observe what Ross or house the party (who would know) is of, as if of Pisces, then hee is of the 12th house; if of Taurus, then of the 2d house &ca. Then ad those 2 together and from the product cast away 3 as many times as you can, and if nothing remaine, then that Planet (if bad) will be very bad; if 2 remaines then bad, and if one remains then will mittigate very much of the malevolence, if not quite impede its force. And [p]e[r] contra, if Planet be good, will help or impede accordingly. As suppose ♄ be in Pisces and the Ros be ♎; for ♓ take 12, and for ♎ take 7, which added together make 19, out of which I cast away 3 6 times and there will remaine 1, which shewes that (although ♄ in ♓ be very bad), yet there being one remaining, according to this rule, shewes that ♄s malevolence will be very much abated if not quite extinguished; and so if any other Planet in the above scheame be good, yet if, according to the exception it be bad, the exception shall predominate, for the exception is the maine thing to go by, all others being esteemed by some uncertaine.

35. HOUSES: 1, 4, 7, 10

If ♃, ♀, ☿, or ☽ be in the same house with the Ross, or in the 4. 7. or 10 from it, then it will be good, and if ♄, ♂, ☉, ☋ be in ditto places then will be bad. This account is most particular for horary questions, but will be for all, and if the ☽ be in a good house, and any of the bad planets as ♄, ♂, &ca. be bad, then the ☽ will hinder the Malevolence of them whilst it remains so; so if the ☽ be in a bad Place, and any good Planets, as ♃, ♀ &ca. in a good place, then will be bad during the ☽s staying there. So ☽ is chiefly to be looked upon, but in this you must observe the exception in the foregoing page. Also the ☉ rules 20 days, the ☽ 50 days &ca. every yeare, and within these every Planet rules its number of dayes in ☉s raigne, ♄ rules 2 dayes: Now notwithstanding the other Planets being good, yet these two dayes ♄ will be bad, and so of the raigne of any of the other Planets either good or bad, so within these 2 days each planet rules its part, so that when ♃ rules his gurries (being stronger than ♄) them gurries in which he raignes shall be good, notwithstanding ♄s 2 days being bad, yet at that time ♄ will have no force.

36. PLANETS WEAPONS

Bramins say that the Planets and ☋ have weapons and those that have the most are the strongest (*vizt*)

weapons.		weapons.	
♄ hath	15	♀ hath	11
♃ ,,	18	☿ ,,	10
♂ ,,	12	☽ ,,	16
☉ ,,	12 and is stronger than ♂.	☋ ,,	18 and is stronger than ♃.

37. TWELVE HOUSES FRIENDS AND ENIMIES

♈ ♂ friend	♉ ♀ friend	♊ ☿ friend	♋ ☽ friend	♌ ☉ friend	♍ ☿ friend
♄ enimy	♃ enimy	☽ enimy	☿ enimy	♄ enimy	☽ enimy

♎ ♀ friend	♏ ♂ friend	♐ ♃ friend	♑ ♄ friend	♒ ♄ friend	♓ ♃ friend
♃ enimy	♄	♀ enimy	☉ enimy	☉ enimy	♀ enimy

38. WHAT GURRIES GOOD AND WHAT BAD FOR EACH ROSS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 12a.

This is to shew what Planets are good and what bad, or what friends and what enimies to every house dayly, as to ♈ ♂ is fiiend and ♄ an enimie, and the rest are neither friends nor enimies. By this they know what gurry is good and what bad for every Planet. First know what Ross the partie is of; then know what a clock it is or how many gurries tis day, and multiply that by 6; then cast away as many 7s as can, and the remainder beginning to account from ☉ to ☽ &ca. As example; when tis 3 gurries day, I would know whether tis good for one whose Ross is ♈. I multiply 3 by 6 and the product will be 18, which divide by 7 and there will 4 remaine, so I say ☉ 1, ☽ 2, ♂ 3, ☿ 4, by which I know that ☿ rules that time, that is after 3 gurries or the 4th gurrie, which I find

to be neither friend nor enimie to ♈; but had it beene to ♊ Ros it had beene good, or had it beene to ♒ Ross it had been bad. Also if the question be asked in the night, then (in stead of multiplying by 6) you must multiply by 5; either in day or night if nothing remains, then ♄ rules, if 6 then ♀ &ca.

39. NACHUTTURS AND PLANETS

To know under every Nachuttur what Planets raigns and so consequently will help or hinder the Nachutturs. Example: First know what Ross the party is of; then multiply that by 4, and thereto ad the number of the day of the weeke from ☉, and the product divide by 9; then that Planet from ☉ raigns, according to this manner ☉, ☽, ♂, ☿, ♃, ♀, ♄, ☊, ☋. Example: one of ♉ Ross when the Moone is in the 9th Nachuttur from ♈ or 8th from ♉, on ☽ day, then take 8 and multiply by 4 makes 32, to which ad 2 for ☽ day makes 34, which divide by 9 and there will be 7 remaine. So I know ♄ raignes, which being neither friend nor enimie to ♉, will be neither good nor bad. If 1 or ☉ remains, then the party will be angry; if 2 or ☽, then profitable; if 3 or ♂, then mind will be for travell and bad; if 4 ☿ profitable; if 5 ♃ profitable; if 6 ♀ very good; if 7 ♄ very bad; if 8 ☊ very bad; if 9 ☋ ditto.

40. WHAT NACHUTTUR BAD

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 13.

They say That for every Ross the following Nachutturs, reckoning from the Ross inclusive are

bad, (*vizt*) 1. 10. 18. 23. 24. 26. This is a generall rule, but if the rule above contradicts it, this will be of little force.

41. NATIVITY

If according to the rule for knowing what are good gurries in the 22 page [fol. 12a], if it be enquired when a child is borne and it falls out that the child was borne when 1 remained or under ☉, then the child will have his left ey squint; if when ♂, then will be sickly; if when ♄, then will not live long; if ☊ or ☋, will be wounded; all the rest good.

42. WHETHER MAN OR WIFE DIE FIRST

They say they know whether a man or his wife will dy first (*vizt*) by these syllables Oah 2, Aw 4, Ee 4, Oo 4, E 4, i 4, O 4, Ou 4, nug 4. First take these syllables the mans name is of the nearest to the syllables forgoing and set downe the figures following them, then do the like with the womans name, and ad both summes together and divide the product by 3, and if nothing or but one remains, then will the man dy first, and if 2 remains, then the woman will dy first. Example: if the mans name sounds like Oah, Ee, and i, for Oah set downe 2, for E 4 and for i 4, which all make 10. Then suppose the womans name sounded like Aw and Oo; for Aw set downe 4 and for Oo set downe 4, which make 8, which added to the 10 make 18, which divided by 3, nothing remains, so know that the man will first dy.

43. [GOOD AND BAD PLANETS]

The Collums in the following page are to shew what Planets in their dayly motion are good and what bad for every Ross, and the Planets which each day are not mentioned are neither good nor bad in their dayly raignes. Example: for ♈ Ros every gurrie (on ☉ day) that ☉ or ♂ raignes are good and (on ditto day) when ♄ raignes is bad; so for ditto Ross (on ☽ day) the gurries on which ☽ ♀ ♃ raignes are good, and when ☿ or ♄ raignes are bad; So for ☿ Ross (on ☉ day) ♀ is good and ♃ bad &ca.

44. TABLE OF PLANETS AND EFFECTS

See page 243.

45. PLANETS PLACES: EPITOMY

By foregoing what writ you will know what Planets in each houses are good or bad in Generall. Then for particular persons or Rosses see Exception in same place, and this is during the time each planet stayes in each house, which you may know by what before, where may also see what Planets help or hinder each other. Then for the Nachuttur or Moons raigne you have before; but before this you must observe the yearly government of the Planets by which will know how the yeare is divided? and Gett the 7 Plan: and ☊, So that if a Planet be bad during its raigne in a house, yet it shall not have force so long as a stronger than it governs its part of the yeare, as ☉ 20 dayes, ☽ 50, &ca. Then tis to be observed that within the Planets raigne for the whole yeare, every planet raignes within that time, as in 20 dayes

44. TABLE OF PLANETS AND EFFECTS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 13a.

	☉ day.	☽ day.	♂ day.	☿ day.	♃ day.	♀ day	♄ day.
♈	♂ ☉ good ♄ bad	☽ ♀ ♃ ☿ ♄	☉ ♂ ♄	☉ ♄	♂ ♄	☉ ♂ ♄	☉ ♀ ♃ ♄
♉	♀ good ♃ bad	☽ ♀ ♃	♀ ♄	♀ ☉ ♄	☽ ☉ ♃	♀ ☽ ♄	☽ ☿ ☉
♊	☿ ☉ good ☽ bad	☽ ♂ ☿	♂ ☉ ♀	☿ ♃ ☽	♃ ☉ ♂ ♀	♀ ☿ ♃	♄ ♀ ☉
♋	☽ ♂ ☉ ♄	all rest ☿ ♄ ☊	♂ ☿ ♃ ♄ ♀	♃ ♀ ☽ ☉	rest good ♀ ☊	rest good ♂ ♃	♄ ☉ ♀
♌	good ♄ ☉	good ☿ ☊	good ♃ ♄	— ♀ ♄	— ♀ ☉	— ♃	— ☉ ☊
♍	good ☽	good ☿ ☊	☉ ☽ ♃ ♀ ♃	☉ ♃ ♀ ☊ ☽	good ♀	good ♃	good ☉
♎	good ♄	— ☿	— ☊	— ☽	— ♀	— ♃	— ☉
♏	☿ ♃ ♀ ♂ ♄ ☊	good ☿	good ☊	good ☽	good ♀	good ♃ ☉	good ☉
♐	♂ ☿ ♃ ☊ ☉	good ☿	- ☊	— ☽	- ♀	— ♃	— ☉
♑	good ♂ ♄	— ☿	☊	— ☽	— ♀	— ♄	— ☉, ♀
♒	good ☉	— ☿	— ☊	— ☽	— ♀	— ♃	— ☉
♓	good ♄ ☊	— ☿	— ☊ ♀	— ☽	- ♃ ♄	— ♃ ♀	— ☉

that the ☉ raignes, all the 7 Planets and ☊ raigne their particular dayes, so that if any particular Planet that raignes within the ☉ 20 dayes be good and the ☉ be bad, yet the ☉ shall do no hurt dureing the time that good Planet raignes, but will after. Now comes the Nachuttur or motion of the ☽ every 27 dayes thorow the 12 signes to be taken notice of, So that notwithstanding any bad Planet in any government of its house or part of the yeare, or some dayes in that part, yet if the Nachuttur or ☽ be good in any Nachuttur, the bad Planet shall do no hurt dureing the time the ☽ remaines in that Nachuttur, but will after. Now having brout downe the Account to the daily motion of the ☽ thorow every Nachuttur now come to know every gurry which good and which bad in every day which see before.

46. SIX HOUSES DAY, SIX DITTO NIGHT

The Bramins say That 6 of the houses are alwayes above, and 6 alwayes below the horizon and turne round every 24 houres, so that those that are in the day above are in the night below, and they know this way. Alwayes observe what signe the ☉ is in and that and the 5 houses are in the horizon in the day time and the other in the night, so that the last of the 6 riseth when Sun sets.

47. TWELVE HOUSES: 3 FIRE, 3 EARTH, 3 WIND, 3 WATER

They say that the 12 houses have great influence over the Elements, as ♈. ♌, ♐ over fire, ♉, ♍, ♑ over Earth, ♊, ♎, ♒ over Wind, and ♋, ♏, ♓ over water.

And that when the ☽ is in the Churne of the Nachuttur, a man was borne in and ☋ be in same Churne and in a Fiery house, then that person must have a care of fire. So when ☽ is in a mans churn and ☋ in it and in an Earthy signe, then that person must have a care of that Element, as that a wall fall not upon him or the like, and so of the rest.

48. WHAT [PLANET] SHORTENS LIFE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 14a.

They say that ♄ and ☋ shortens mans life by causing them to consume it by sleepe. The ☋ is Lord of ♍ or 6th house, which knowne, enquire what house the party is of and see how many that is from this, which multiply by 3, and the product tells you how many yeares ☋ shortens mans life. Example: if the Ross be ♈ which is the first, then multiply 6 (which is the number of the houses that is from ♍ inclusive) by 3 and the product will be 18, which shewes that ☋ shortens that mans life (whose Ross was ♈) 18 yeares.

49. NACHUTTURS: WHAT GOOD WHAT BAD FOR NATIVE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 14a.

1	3 first gurries bad. rest good.	10	4 first gurries bad every day, and ☉ day all bad.	19	☉ day all bad 9 first gurries bad rest good.
2	○, ♂, ♄ days bad, rest good	11	good.	20	good.
3	○ day bad, rest good.	12	good	21	good
4	good	13	good	22	☽ good rest medium
5	good	14	good	23	good
6	bad	15	good	24	good
7	good	16	☉ day bad, rest good	25	good
8	good	17	○ day bad, rest good	26	good
9	bad all, if on 11th gurry born then will be killed with a snake.	18	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 gurries bad, rest good.	27	12 first gurries bad, rest good

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 15.

The table, in the foregoing Table is to shew what Nachutturs are good for a child to be born in and what bad. Example: if borne in the 1st Nachuttur, tis good except within the 3 first gurries; and so of rest.

50. WHAT PLANETS GOVERN WHAT HOUSES

♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿ ☊	☽
♑ ♒	♐ ♓	♈ ♏	♌	♉ ♎	♊ ♍	♋

This scheame is to shew what Planets govern what houses as ♄ governs ♑ and ♒, and ♃ governs ♐ and ♓.

51. ♄ SHORTENS MANS LIFE

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
10	21	17	15	6	17	21	8	21	11	15	24

This Scheame is to shew for every Ross how many yeares of mans life ♄ shortens, as for ♈ Ross 10 yeares, for ♉ Ross 21 yeares; and so of rest.

52. HOW TO KNOW MANS AGE

To know mans age the Bramins measure the thickness of mans head roundabout from behind over the fore head, and take the 3d part of it in fuigers, which they multiply by 12, and from the product subtract what ♄ and ☊ will shorten according to the foregoing rules. Example: a mans Ross suppose to be ♉ which is 5 from ♍ house, according to the foregoing rule; therefore multiply 5 by 3, which makes 15. So I know that ☊ will shorten mans life 15 yeares. Then I find by the table above that ♄ for ♉ Ross shortens it 21 yeares, which added to 15 make 36, which are the number of years to be subtracted from his age. Then measure his head. Suppose the circumference to be 24 finger-breadths; the 3d part of that is 8, which multiplied by 12 make

96, out of which subtract the 36, and there will remaine 60, which is the age of the party.

53. BRAMINS PREACHING

Every Full moon also when the Eclipses happen, the Bramins meet at their Church or Duira (if have any in their towne, if not in some house), and thither call the common sort of people whome they instruct and teach to avoid evill and tell them what will be their punishment, if ly; such if commit murder; such if forswear themselves; such if ly with neighbours wifes; and if have committed any of these sinns, then they must sacrifice such and such things and such things or must give to the poor, and such to the Bramins.

54. [HOSTILE PLANETS]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 15a.

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
☋ 12	♀ 21	☽ 15	☿ 17	☋ 12	☽ 15
♄ 10	♃ 19	—	—	♄ 10	—

♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
♃ 19	☋ 12	♀ 21	☋ 12	☋ 5	♀ 21
—	♄ 10	♂ 12	☉ 6	☉ 6	☉ 6

Some say that according to this Table the Planets shorten mans life, as in ♈ Ross ☋ shortens 12, ♄ shortens 10 yeares; and so of the rest; and the reason is because ☋ and ♄ are enimies to ♂, who is Lord of ♈, and so are the rest as above enimies to the Lords of the houses above them, as written; but herein

you must measure the circumference of the head and the 3d part thereof in fingers-breadths. Multiply by 12, and from the product deduct the above number of yeares according to the particular Rosses.

55. PLACES OF PLANETS JAN. 1ST 167½

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16.

The places of the Planets according to some of the Bramins Account upon the 1st January 167½ as followeth (*vizt.*).

			d.	m.	''	'''
♄	in	♒	28	23		
♃	in	♌	13	15	11	18
♂	in	♐	17	10		
☉	in	♑	2	0		
♀	in	♐	16	0		
☿	in	♐	28	15		
☽	in	♉	13	20 at Sunrise		
☊	in	♓	0	1	5	
☋	in	♍	29	00	25	

Memorandum. Tis to be observed that ☊ and ☋ move backward from ♓ to ♒ &ca

56. DAYLY MOTION OF PLANETS

Account how the Bramines say how long every Planet stayes in a house and consequently what is their daily motion (*vizt.*).

	years	months	days					d.	m.	''	''
♄	2	6	00 stayes in house ;		moves monthly			1	0	0	00
♃	1	1	00	,,	,,	,,	,,	2	9	3	0
☊	1	6	00	,,	,,	,,	,,	1	20	0	0
♂	00	1	15	,,	,,	move daily		00	20	0	0
☉	00	1	00	,,	,,	,,	,,	1	00	0	0
♀	00	1	00	,,	,,	,,	,,	1	00	0	0
☿	00	0	20	,,	,,	,,	,,	1	15	0	0
☽	00	00	2¼	,,	,,	,,	,,	13	10	0	0

57. PLANETS RAIGNES

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16a.

By what before writ you will understand what Planets raigne for every day and also what Planets begin to raigne, as alwayes ☉ his 20 dayes first, from his entring the Ross or house the person is of as before. Now First observe what Nachuttur the party is of, reckoning from Kirtagah or the 3d Nachuttur (from Assonee), as suppose the Nachuttur was Kirtigah, then reckon 1, if Rohonee 2 ; &ca of rest. Then to this ad the number of the yeares of age that are past and these divide by 8, and the remainder in the Quotient tells you what Planet will be Lord of the year following. As suppose a person of Assonee Ross, for that being the 26th Nachuttur from Kirtigah, take 26, then if the party be in the 20th year makes 46, which divide by 8 shews that there will remain 6. So I know that ♃ will be Lord of that yeare who will first raigne his 58 dayes, then ☊ his 42 dayes ; and so of the rest.

58. SUNS MERIDION

The Bramins say That the Sun moves 2202 Course in one Joojon, 4 of which Joojons go to one Pull, or wink with the Ey, 60 of which Pulls make one Gurry, and 60 Gurries make a natural day, or day and night.

59. TO KNOW WHAT PLANETS GOVERNED THE YEAR WHEN MAN BORN

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17.

First see what Nachuttur hee is of and Account it from Kirtigah inclusive, and so reckon from the

☉ in this order, ☉, ☽, ♂, ☿, ♄, ♃, ☊, ♀. So if borne in Kirtigah, then ☉ was Lord when borne; if in 2d from Kirtigah then ☽ was Lord; and so of rest. And when all these 8 done, then begin againe. As if borne in 12th Nachuttur from Kirtigah, then ☿ was Lord and is to be accounted from birthday of Native.

60. WHAT HOUSE A MAN IS OF

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17a.

They distinguish betwixt the Ross and Burge a man is of, for the Ross is the house or Burge the Moone was in when borne; but the Burge or house hee is of is the house that raigned when hee was borne.

61. [PLANETS RAIGNES]

☉ ♈	☉ ♉	☉ ♊	☉ ♋	☉ ♌	☉ ♍
g. p.	g. p.	g. p	g. p.	g. p.	g. p.
3 41	4 13	5 4	5 42	5 45	5 35

☉ ♎	☉ ♏	☉ ♐	☉ ♑	☉ ♒	☉ ♓
g. p.	g. p.	g. p.	g. p	g. p.	g. p.
5 35	5 45	5 42	5 4	4 13	3 41

So when Sun [is] in Aries, then Aries raignes first 3 g. 41 p. and after ♉, and when ☉ in ♉ then ♉ raignes first and after ♊; and so of rest. And this is chiefly to be taken notice of what house raigned when native borne, and then see what houses the Planets were in from that house, whose significations are as follow (*vizt.*).

Harl. MS. 4255, fols. 17a-18.

62. [PLANETS RAIGNES]

	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	☊
1	Sickness	good	Eyes squint or red	mother sickly, else good	good	good	good	bad
2	Loss	Rich	Cattle dy	medium	good	good	good	Loss
3	good	medium	brothers dy else good	eldest brother dy, else good	good	good	good	eldest and youngest brother dy
4	mother sickly else good	very good	very good	mother sickly	medium	good	sickly	dy when 4 years old.
5	good for sisters	very good	daughters dy els good	pains in belly	good	good	good	no children else good
6	overcome enimies	bad spend much	good	good	be over-come with enimies else good	bad	bad	many enimies but overcome them.

7	wife dy suddenly else good	very good	wife white good	wife long lived good	have no children	good	good	wife dy first.
8	Sickly the 8th year	bad	good	medium	no children	bad	bad	sick when 8 years old
9	Covetous else good	liberall good	Covetous	Covetous	very good	spend much	good	turne from his religion else good
10	good	good	excellent good	good	bad for wife else good	good	good	be a Drunkard
11	good	good	very good	wife eyes run else good	good	spend much	good	very good
12	spend much	medium	spend much	squint eyed else good	medium	medium	left ey squint	very good

So if ♄ in the same Burge, then will be sickly; if in 2 Loss, if 3d good &ca of rest.

63. HOUSE OR BURG

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 18a.

The Bramins account chiefly from the Burge that raigned when Native [was] borne and not so much from the Ross.

64. TO KNOW MANS AGE

They say that if they know what Churne or part of the Nachuttur a man was borne in, they know his age by this rule. If in first churne, take 15; if in 2d, 30; if in 3d, 45; if in 4th, 60, and therewith multiply 108, and divide the whole by 60; and the Quotient answers the question.

65. FOUR GOOD, FOUR BAD PLANETS

☽, ♀, ♃, ☿ are good, ☋, ♄, ♂, ☉ bad planets, which are set downe in the degrees of good or bad as writ.

66. WHAT PLANETS SEE EACH OTHER

The 2d, 6, 11, 12 see noe houses but themselves. The 3 and 10 see ¼ of rest. The 4 and 8 see ½ the rest; 5 and 9 see ¾, and the 7th see all the rest.

67. FOR WIFE

They say that if ☽, ☿, ♀ or ♃ be in 7th house from the Natives burge, they are good for marriage. The ☽ gives a wife of 15 years old, ☿ of [blank] ♀ of [blank], and ♃ of [blank], and that ☉ give a wife that will not give suck to her child on left breast but a rich wife of 12 or 24 yeares old. ♄ gives a black and scolding wife; ♂ a scold but rich; ☋ a black scold and dy soone as well ♄s; this is for the 7th house only, but if none in the 7th house, then the Lord of the 7th house describes the wife.

68. TO KNOW WHAT PARTY WILL OVERCOME

Measure your shadow by your feet and to that ad 9, to which ad the number of dayes exclusive since the Full moon and divide the product by 6, and what remains will shew; for if one remained then that man on left hand will be beaten, if 2 remained then hee on right, if 3 hee on left, and so on to 6, which if even, then hee on right hand will be beaten.

69. WHAT PLANET RAIGNES EVERY GURRY

Multiply the gurry current of the day by 6 and divide the product by 7, and the remainder answers the question, for if one remained then ☉, if 2 ☽, if 3 ♂, if 4 ☿, if 5 ♃, if 6 ♀, if even 7, then ♄; but if the question demanded in the night, then instead of multiplying by 6, you must multiply by 5 and work as before.

70. TO KNOW A MANS AGE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 19.

First know what gurrie of the Narives Nachuttur the Moone was in when borne, and so many gurries as were then past, multiply by 108, which divided by 60 tells you your age that will be. Only this is to be observed that if any of the following Planets bee in the Natives burge, or in 4, 5, 7, 9, or 10 burge from it when Native borne, they will deduct as followeth (*vizt.*).

deducts	years	deducts		
♄ - -	10	☉ - -	6	these in all make 108 the age of man.
☊ - -	12	♂ - -	8	
♃ - -	19	♀ - -	21	
☿ - -	17	☽ - -	15	
	58		50	

But if any of these Planets be not enimies to the Natives burge, then they will not deduct any.

71. DY IN FURRAIGNE COUNTRYES

They say that those of ♉, ♌, ♍ and ♑ Ross will not dy in their Native Countrye.

72. FORCE OF PLANETS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 19a.

(*a*) If ♂ be in Natives Burge or in 8, or ♄ in 11th, or ☉ in 5th, or ☋ in 3 or ♑ from the Natives Burge, then the Native will travell much.

If ♂ or ○ be in Natives Burge, then will travell much and be very covetous.

If ♄ in Natives Burge, then will have many enimies but over come them.

If ☋ in Natives Burg, then will be overcome by enimies.

(*b*) If ♂, ♄, ☉ or ☋ be in 4th from the ☽, then will be short lived the natives mother.

If ♄ in the 10th house from the ☉ when Native borne, then Natives father short lived.

If ♄ in 3d house from ♂, then will brothers and sisters dy.

If ☿ be in 4th house from Natives Burge, then will have but few friends.

If ☋ be in 5th from ♃, then natives children not live.

If ☋ in 7th from ♀, then will native marry 2 wifes one after other.

If ☉ in 8th from ♄, native dy suddenly, that is be short lived.

If ♄ in 9th from Natives Burge, then will mothers brothers dy.

If ☿ be Lord of the Burge and in his owne Burge and then the 3d Burge from natives burge, then the native have no children.

73. PLANETS FORCES

Harl. MS. 2455, fol. 20.

In generall when and what Planets ad or deduct from mans fortune, as followeth (*vizt.*);

♄ in ♎	ads.	♄ in ♌	deducts.
♃ in ♋		♃ in ♉ ♎	
♂ in ♑		♂ in ♉	
☉ in ♈		☉ in ♑ ♒	
♀ in ♓		♀ in ♐	
☿ in ♍		☿ in ♋	
☽ in ♉		☽ in ♊ ♍	
☊ in ♊ ♍		☊ in ♋ ♌	

74. PLANETS RAIGN FOR 108 YEARS

First know what Nachuttur a man is of and account it from Kirtigah inclusive, which divide by 8 and what remaines shewes what Planets raigned first in that mans age. As suppose the 26 Nachuttur from Kirtigah, which divid by 8, there remains 2, which shewes that ☽ (being 2d from ☉) first raigned, and shee raignes 15 yeares, then ♂ 8, ♀ 17, ♄ 10, ♃ 19, ☊ 12, ♀ 21, ☉ 6. This order begins at ☉; then ☽ &ca; so if 1 had been remaining, then ☉ had raigned first.

75. WHAT PLANETS WHEN GOOD

First know what house the Planet is in from Aries and then what house a man was borne in, which ad

together and divide the whole by 3, and if nothing remaine, tis bad; if 2, medium; if 1, tis good, that is, if a bad Planet, will mitigate, or good planet, augment, &ca; also tis to be observed whether the Planet be in his enimies house or not, if he will be very bad.

76. HOUSES EFFECTS

♈ is for health.
♉ for riches.
♊ for brothers or sisters.
♋ for Parents.
♌ for Children.
♍ for friends.
♎ for wife.
♏ health if born then will dy in 8 yeares, 8 months, 8 days or 8 gurries.
♐ for liberality.
♑ for honour.
♒ Age.
♓ for charge.

77. WHAT CREATURE MAN PRE-EXISTED

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25a.

Tis knowne by Nachutturs a man is of (*vizt.*) Nachuttur—

1. Horse.	10. Ox.	19. Lyon.
2. Goat.	11. Buffilo.	20. Horse.
3. Snake.	12. Tyger.	21. Lyon.
4. Ox.	13. Tyger.	22. Ox.
5. Goat.	14. Camell.	23. Buffilo.
6. Goat (?).	15. Deer.	24. Gohlia, Ass.
7. Rat (?).	16. Monkee.	25. Merha Der [*sic*].
8. Horse.	17. A Weasell.	26. Dog.
9. Rat (?).	18. Buglah, a bird.	27. Buffilo.

78. HORARY QUESTION

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25.

They say that if a question be asked when ○ ☽ in ♈ or 1st house then thing will be in 1 day if nigh, if ☽ in 4th, then in 4 days, if in 7th in 7 days, if in 10th in 10 days, if in 2d in 6 days, in 5th in 10 days,

if in 8th, 24 days, if in 11th in 33 dayes, if in 3d in 9 days, if in 6th in 18 days, if in 9th in 27 days, if in 12th in 36 days, that 1, 4, 7, 10 are brothers, as are 2, 5, 8, 11, and so are 3, 6, 9, 12, because see each other.

79. DAYES LENGTH

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24a.

Some of Learneds say That when Sun enters into Capricorne then is the shortest day; when in 13th degree of ♓ Equinox; when in Cancer the longest; and when in 13th of ♍ the Equinox again; and thus their Rule: First take the number of the Dayes past since its entrance into Capricorne (which upon its 13th day in ♓ will be 73 dayes, *vizt.* 30 daye[s] in Capricorne: 30 dayes in ♒ and 13 in ♓; to this 73 ad 17, which makes 90, from which cast away halfe, and there remains 45, to which add 255 makes 300, which divide by 10 and the quotient will be 30, which shewes that the day is 30 gurries long, which is halfe 60 the Naturall day; and so for the length of the nights, account from Suns entring into Cancer. By same rule, and by this Aid the day increaseth or decreaseth 3 poll in a day.

80. TO KNOW MANS AGE BY NACHUTTUR

Harl. MS 4255, fol. 25

Multiply the number of Gurries past in the Nachutter, and that multiply by 108 and that divide by 60, which answers.

81. DITTO BY BURGE

Harl. MS. 4255, fols. 25-25a.

First see what Burge raigned when borne, as 1, 2, 3d or like from Aries and write that downe, then what

are in the same house, or in the 4, 7, 10, 5, or 9th from it, then the whole multiply by 108 and divide the product by 60 and answer. Example ♎ raignes when borne and ♃ and ☉ are in ♎, and ☊ in ♊. First for ♎ I set downe 7 (being the 7th house), and then the 4th burge from ♎ will be ♑ which being the 10th from Aries I set downe 10 which makes 17, then the 7th Burge will be Aries, which is the 1st, which added makes 18; then the 10th burge will be ♋, which is the 4th which added makes 22; then the 5th will be ♒ which is 11th which makes 33: then the 9th will be ♊, which being the 3d, added makes 36, then being ☉ is in Natives burge I ad 1, and being ♃ is in d^{to} I ad 5 (observing that rule to ad for ☉ 1, for ☽ 2, for ♂ 3, for ☿ 4, ♃ 5, ♀ 6, ♄ 7, ☊ 8, ☋ 9). So for ☉ and ♃ make 6, which added to 36 makes 42, which multiplied by 108 makes 4536, which divided by 60 the quotient will be $75\frac{36}{60}$, the age required.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT FOR AGE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25a.

This Account is same with the above [on fol. 25], only when come at 42 (which before you multiplyed by 108), now multiply 42 by 12, and divide the product by 10; and the Quotient answers the Question.

82. TWENTY-SEVEN JOOGS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25a.

There are 27 Joogs, which with 27 Nachutturs and 6 Pla: (*vizt.*) ♄, ♃, ♂, ♀, ☿, ☊, make 60, which

are governed by ☉ and ☽, whence receive all their strength.

Their names as Follow

1. Becombe.	10. Gund.	19. Purregur.
2 Preet.	11. Breed.	20. Sia.
3. Jivoconon.	12. Durbea.	21. Sid.
4. Sowbaug.	13. Ghaut.	22. Saud.
5. Sobun.	14. Hercon.	23. Sub.
6. Elgund.	15. Buderah.	24. Sookul.
7. Saecormaw.	16. Siddee.	25. Burmah.
8. Dreet.	17. Billeepaut	26. Judroo.
9. Sool.	18. Burreaun.	27. By Dreet.

83. WHAT NACHETTER THE MOONS IN

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 26.

First see how many months are past since Cawteck (observing this method in them, Cawtick, Aggon, Poos, Maug, Pawgoon, Coheit, Bysauk, Jeat, Aggot, Sowun, Rawdoo, Assin, and accounting the month current for one and that double, to which ad the day current from the Full Moone exclusive, and that tells the Nachutter the Moone is in ☉. Example: suppose a Pawgun, or 12th day from Full Moon. First I set downe 5 for Pawgun (being the 5th month), which doubled makes 10, to which ad 12 for the 12th day from Full Moone and makes 22, the Nachutter the Moones then in; and if the sum exceeds 27, then cast away 27 and the question is answered. On first of Bysack the Sun enters Aries by their Account.

84. JOOGS AND NACHUTTERS MEET

(*a*) If Joog and Nachutters meet then bad for fighting and for Querent, which is knowne by this way. If

1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27 Joogs raigne, then to what Joog raignes ad to its number 1, and then cast away halfe and what remains; if that Nachutter raignes, then they are said to meet. Example. When 15 Joog raignes, ad 1, makes 16, the halfe of which cast away, remains 8, so that if the 8th Nachutter at that time raignes, they meet and will be bad for Querent; and if 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26 Joogs raigne then to its raignes ad 28, and from the whole cast away halfe as before and anser the question.

TO KNOW WHAT JOOG RAIGNES

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 26a.

First double the month in which would know and ad the day (accounting from Asson month), as did in Nochettur from Cawteck. Example: on 6th day of Pawgon, for Paugun (being the 6th month from Asson) I set downe 6, which I double and it makes 12, to which ad 6 for the 6th day, make 18, so that that day the 18 Joog raigned.

85. DAYS AND NIGHTS NAMES CALLED TUTARRA

	dayes.		nights.	
(*a*)	1. Screden -	good	1. Gunnah - -	good
	2. Collah - -	bad	2. Collah - -	bad
	3. Aunundung -	good	3. Rawkee - -	good
	4. Colcuntah -	bad	4. Anuundee - -	good
	5. Durrunu -	bad	5. Bidgeah - -	bad
	6. Toppeh -	good	6. Jeyah - -	good
	7. Bidganundun	bad	7. Bieecutkeysee -	bad

TO KNOW WHAT GOOD DAYS

(*b*) First double the month you would know in from Cheit month, then ad the age of the Moone and the number of the day from Sunday; all these added together divide by 7, and what remains tells you what day it is. Example: on the 10th day of Cheit month being Wednesday, First for Cheit (being the first month I must reccon from) I take one, which doubled make 2, to which ad 25 for the 25 dayes the Moone is old makes 27; then for Wednesday (being the 4th day from ☉ day) ad 4, which makes 31, which divided by 7, there remains 3, which shewes that it is Annundungs raigne, which is good. The same rule is for the nights, only you must account from Bawdoo (as do for dayes from Cheit).

86. WHAT EVERY ROSS GETS AND SPENDS IN THE YEAR 1672

	♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
Get - -	8	2	5	14	2	5
Spend -	14	8	2	2	11	2

	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Get - -	2	8	11	14	14	11
Spend -	8	14	5	11	11	5

87. SEVEN PLANETS

Some say that ☊ is master to all the Planets, *vizt.* ♄, ♃, ♂, ☉, ♀, ☿, ☽, and that ☋ is his Shadow.

88. HINDOOS ALMANACK FOR 1 YEAR TRANSLATED

The Hindoos make Almanacks every yeare and that for 1672, begining 4th March 167½, is as followeth: And first of all (after Salam to God)—

This the 15 yeare of Oramshawes raigne.

The 1729 yeare of Rajah Beecremodgit, who altered the Hindoos account or Sumbut.

The 1594 yeare of Rajah Sarbond, who altered their yeare and called it Sicca.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 27.

This yeare is a Durunt yeare: *i.e.* an unwitty (?) yeare, the meaning is—

There will be much warr

Good air, and corne cheap to the Southward

Much sickness

Times uncertaine, sometimes war, then peace, now hot now cold, now raines, now faire.

♂ is Rojah of this yeare, his effects *vizt.* Much fire, loss by trade, many thieves, little godliness or charity, much breakings out of the body, and wounds, and much care.

♃ is Duan his effects, Good rains, plenty of milk, butter, cowes &ca., men be charitable and give much to the Bramins, great increase of corne, people be very charitable in victualls.

○ Rojah of friendship, so will be but little.

☉ Rojah of Rains, so but little and much heat.

♀ Rojah of corne, so be plenty.

♃ Rojah of wars, so will prevent much which else would.

Puddum, the Rojah of Snakes, so will be very many, but not hurtfull (for Puddum though one of the greatest snakes, yet a good one).

Pookur, the Rojah of Thunder, so will be much.

Sutjoog	-	is 1728000 yeares
Tretak	-	1296000
Doopor	-	0864000
Coljoog	-	0432000

That of Coljoog 4772 are past.

The Planets are writ in their Almanacks what house each are, in which refer to other Accounts.

Their Almanack is from Full Moones to Full Moones making 12.

The 27 Nachutters are set downe and there writ if any man fals sick in respective Nachutters, how long his sickness will last, and what must sacrifice to mitigate it (*viz.*)

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 27a.

1. Corne.	11. flowers.	20. Goat.
2. Brass.	12. Gold.	21. Sheep.
3. Longpeper.	13. Copper.	22. Buffilo.
4. Red Ching (?).	14. Goore.	23. Barley
5. Butter.	15. Red cloth.	24 Pigeons
6. Yellow.	16. Tinn.	25. Henns
7. Honey.	17 Horse.	26. Flesh.
8. Rice.	18 Elephant.	27. Milk.
9. Silver.	19. Deer.	Dy.
10. Don acorne.		

89. PLENTY AND SCARCITY

Harl. MS. 4255, fols. 27a-28.

They divide plenty into 20 parts, above which it never exceeds, and 10 is the medium; so above 10 or under it are said to be plenty, or scarcity. (*vizt.*)

Raines	7	Nobleness	11
Corne	15	Leachery	7
Wood	15	Juice	15
Grass	15	Thiefe Killers	17
Cold	7	Cotton or Cloth	7
Wind	11	Oyle	3
Heat	11	Sugar Loaf	7
Wealth of Profit	17	Flowers and fruit	9
Loss	9	Good Conscience	2
Fighting	11	Bad Conscience	18
Stomack	13	Plenty	11
Contention	7	Fire	7
Sloth	15	Escapes from fire	13
Thieves	17	Religion	13
Thirst	13	Irreligion	13
Sleep	11	Death	11
Laziness	13	Borne	4
Hast	13	Salt	3
Love	13	Pepper	2
Anger	15	Milk	4
Pride	9		
Covetousness	13		

here end Almanack

90. WHAT GURRY THE MOON ENTERS INTO NACHUTTER

First, reccon the month from Cawteck, which double, and thereto ad the number of dayes exclusive from Full Moone, and that answers the Question what Gurry it leaves the Nachetter. Example: the 12th of Powgun. For Pawgun (being the 5th month from Cawteck), I take 5, which double makes

10, to which ad 12 for 12th day from Full Moone makes 22, which shewes that the 22th Gurry from Sunrise the Moone left that Nachutter, and by this you also know that it was the 22th Nachutter, and if had exceeded, then you must have cast away 27, and what remained would tell you the Nachutter, and the whole what Gurry it ended.

91. HOW LONG SICKNESS LASTS IN EACH NACHUT[TUR]

This Account I tooke from Ramnaut, an able Astrologer Bramin, which shewes that if a man falls sick when Moone in any Nachutter how long that sickness will last (vizt.)

Nach.	day.	Nach.	day.	Nach.	day.
1	1	10	will dy	19	will dy
2	will dy	11	7	20	15
3	9	12	15	21	20
4	3	13	will dy	22	30
5	5	14	15	23	15
6	will dy	15	7	24	10
7	7	16	20	25	will dy
8	7	17	10	26	15
9	9	18	15	27	10

92. [*KRISHNA PAKSHA : ŚUKLA PAKSHA*]

Crisson putch is from Full moone to New moone.
Soocol putch is from New moone to Full moone.

93. EXCEPTION TO FIND NACHUTTER

Harl. MS. fol. 28.

As sometimes the Teet or day from the Full Moone is writ twice which you must go by which seldome contradicts the other Account, and you must

alwayes exclude the day of Full moone being poormassee or the full of their old month.

94. WHAT DAYES GOOD FOR TRAVELL

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 30.

To the East ☉ and ♀ days good, and bad to West.

To the West ☽ and ♄ days good and bad to East.

To the South ♂ and ☿ day[s] good and bad to North.

To the North ♃ day is good and to South bad.

In this Account you must observe that all from North to East is account[ed] North, and all from East to South accounted East, and so of rest.

95. HINDOOS NAME

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

The Hindoos have but one name which they receive from the Braminie or Priest the 6th day of their age. The Braminy consulting the places of the Starrs and his Astrologie and finding what minute the child was borne, gives him a name accordingly.

96. PALMESTRY

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 24-24a.

Some Braminies say That if all the length of all the 4 fingers and the thumb be not so long as from the elbow to the end of the little finger then tis a signe of very good fortune, but if but as long as to the root of the little finger, then of very bad fortune, if longer than to the end of the little finger, then of extraordinary good fortune.

97. TO KNOW WHO WILL OVER COME

Harl. MS. 4255, fols. 8a-9.

In the field to know which army will over come. First measure your shadow (standing with one hand to

one armie and the other to the other) in feet, and thereto ad 9, to which ad the moones age (accounting the day in which it was new for one), to which ad 12; all these added together divide by six, and what remains keepe in your mind, and account from the left hand armie, and when come at the number, that armie will be beaten.

Example: Suppose the shade be 10 feet, to which ad 9 which make 19, to which I ad 9 for the moons age (it being the 9th day from the change inclusive), which make 28, to which ad 12 makes 40, then cast away 6 as many times as can which is 6 times, and there will remaine 4; therefore begin with the armie on the left hand reckoning it for the first, the right hand armie for the 2d, the left againe for the 3d, the right hand for the 4th, which shewes the 4th to light upon the right hand armie, which shewes that it will be beaten by the left hand armie; but had the shadow not beene even feet, then you must ad to them to make them even, as if it had been 9¾ feete then ad ¼ to make it even &ca. This must be done before the Armies go to fight; and if you find that there comes out even 6s, then the Armies will not fight.

98. SHORT LIFE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 9.

The Bamins say That if any child be borne on Saturday when the Sun riseth, or within one gurric, and that at that time the Moone be in the latter part of Cancer betwixt the 17th and 30th degree, then that child will be very short lived; also if a tree be set at that time it will not grow.

99. HOT WINDS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 2.

At Fort St. George the Hot winds come in May and are not very violent nor long. The Rains com in latter end of September.

At Metchlepatam the Hot winds com in about 9 or 10th of May and hold untill some raine come, sometimes for 1 month, sometimes 2 months, and sometimes ½ month. They come from North West and West. They are very strong and violent, hot and dry, so that in them a man cannot sweat, nor continue in them halfe an houre without endaingering to be suffocated. They come in about 10 clock morning and holds till night, when is not any wind at all stiring, except a Sea brieze come in about 4 Clock afternoons, which sometimes doth, and is very refreshing and pleasant to a man having endured such heat, from 10 morning to 4 afternoon. People keep all within and shut oll dores and windowes that noe hot wind come in, and some goe into sellers; severall of the natives have died in the high way with the heat, but then the water is very cold to drink, althoug[h] every thing, as cloths &ca are all very hot.

100. RAINS AT METCHLEPATAM

At Metchlepatam the Rains come in about middle of July and continue untill latter end of September, or middle of October, when the Monsoones break up, at which time are terrible stormes, for then the wind blowes northerly and continues generally till middle December, when is a little monsoone, when the wind turnes Southerly for about a fortnight and then turnes

Northerly again and continues untill latter end of February or middle of March, when wind turns Southerly and continues till September or October, when Monsoones break up againe. All September October and November the streame is so strong, by reason of the vast quantity of rain water that comes from Bengall and other places, that it will in some places drive a Ship 6 miles in an houre Southerly.

101. SEASONS OF YEARE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

(*a*) The 6th of June 1671, being Tuesday, the Raines came in Pattana.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19.

(*b*) In Bengall, about middle or latter end of February or beginning of March, very high winds arise generally, and some raine. These winds are for about one month. After for about one month are hot winds, and now and then a storme of wind in the afternoone. Then about latter end of Aprill or begining of May very high winds and stormes arise, generally about 3 or 4 o clock in the afternoons, which comes so suddenly, as also doth that in February and March, that a man shall not perceive or suspect them ¼ of an houre before they come, in so much that vast number of boats in Ganges are yearly cast away therein. This windy weather continues without, or with but little raine, till about the begining of June, and then for about a fortnight or 3 weekes it continues very violent, haveing great and many showers of raine following the windy flurries, and also very much lightning and thunder. After that, untill the begining of October, the rains and winds are moderate; and at the first

Full or New Moon in October the Storme or Munsoons break up, which is with violent stormes of wind and somtimes raine, being the greatest storme in all the yeare. But if it happen that the Full or New Moon fall very soon in October, then the storme somtimes breakes up in the Full or New Moon next following, as it did in 1670 and 1671. The great storme lasts seldome above 3 or 4 dayes, or one quarter of the moon at most, after which, untill February or March againe, the weather is faire, the winds being Easterly and Northerly. In the rain times the winds are uncertaine, but for most part Southerly or Westerly; also from March to the Rains generally Southerly or Westerly.

102. TURNADOES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 31.

The Turnadoes are always met with betwixt the Tropicks. They are violent stormes of wind and raine riseing suddenly, the wind changing very often, somtimes blowing from all the points in an houres time, with great showres of raine which stink; and if the Seamen lay but their wet cloths into any hole for 24 houres, they will have very many maggots in them. Tis also unholsome weather, somtimes being sultering hot, and on a sudden a great storme and cold, then hot againe, which causeth many Seamen to get cold and afterwards to have the Scurvie which is not easily cured.

103. TRICK AT CARDS

Harl MS. 4255, fol. 15a.

They have also a trick at Cards to tell what you think by placing them according to the following

table (*vizt.*), So that if you should say the Card is in the ? upper row, then they will place the cards side wayes as 1, 7, 13, 19 above 2, 8, 14, 20 and so of the rest.

1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24

104. TO TELL THE THOUGHT

The Moores have this way to tell the thought, *vizt.* of Rupees, shillings &ca. Example: of Rupees, to which goe 16 Annas, bid the party think of any number of Rupees, and bid him for every Rupee in his mind take one Anna for interest; then bid him with the interest money buy a horse; and then after the rate hee paid for that one horse bestow all his principle money in horses, which when done tell him he hath bought in all 17 horses; so if you had bid him take 2 annas Interest for every Rupee in his mind then hee could by but 9 horses. The reason is because the one anna and 16 annas in one Rupee make 17, so in one rupee is 8 times two annas, which with the 2 annas (which must be reckoned for one) make 9; and so of any other as in Table following.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	9	$6\frac{1}{3}$	5	$4\frac{1}{5}$	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$3\frac{2}{7}$	3	$2\frac{7}{9}$	$2\frac{6}{10}$	$2\frac{5}{11}$	$2\frac{1}{3}$	$2\frac{3}{13}$	$2\frac{2}{14}$	$2\frac{1}{15}$	2

105. TO KNOW HOW MANY ARROWES IN A SHEAFE

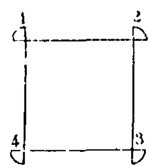
Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 18a.

First ly them close together and see how many is in the circumference, and you will find 1½ so many times more in the middle, which ad together, as if 20 in circumference, then the whole will be 50.

106. HINDOO QUESTIONS

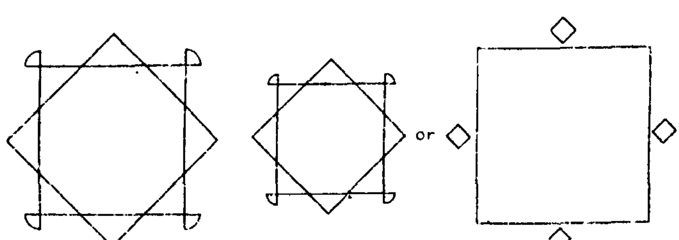
Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5.

A Question asked by a Hindo. How to make this figure ——— —— less and not touch it. Answered thus ═══ by making one figure over it that was biger.

Another Question there was: a King had a Tank made of this figure, 

numbers 1: 2: 3: 4 being four houses. When the King see the Tanke his [*sic* ? he] said it was not big enough, soe would have the makers of it to make it bigger, but would not have the 4 houses removed, and yet to stand without the Tank.

Answered



107. FURTHER MATHEMATICAL QUESTION

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5.

In Pegu he [Christopher Hatton] was asked this Question or one of this nature. Suppose there be a Pole 10 yards high, and a rat placed at the top of it descending $\frac{3}{5}$ of a foot in $\frac{4}{5}$ of an houre, and a Cat at the bottom which ascends $\frac{7}{8}$ of a foot in $\frac{5}{7}$ of an houre, Question, how long they will be in meeting and in what place of the Pole they will meete.

108. HINDOOS WORLD AGE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5a.

In their Almanack, which is written in a Language called Sinscreet, they say the world is 3892771 yeares old to the yeare 1670.

109. SNICRAN [VIKRAMA], SAMBUT [SAMBAT] ACCOUNTS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 32.

The Hindoos say That their old Account was called the Snicran Account, in which were 365¼ dayes in every yeare, and that yeare begins when ours doth (*vizt.*) upon new years day. There was a Rojah coalled [*sic*, called] Bear becramogee which lived 1728 yeares since, and then altered the former Account of the yeare and placed in it 360 days, And called it Sumbut, being of his owne calculateing.

110. FOUR JOOGS OR AGES

The Hindoos say there are 4 Joags or ages. The first was called:

1. Sutjoag being the Golden age when men were long lived; it lasted	1728000
2. Teetah, the Silver age, not altogether so good	1296000
3. Doopor, the bras age, being	864000
4. Cooljoog, the Iron age, which is now. The years past in it are 4772, the years to come in Coljoog are 427228, in all	432000
	4320000

I perceive that from the first age every age lessens 432000 yeares, the Golden age being longer than the Silver by so much and the silver than the bras age by so much, and it than the Iron by so much; this Account December 22d: 1671.

111. HINDOOS YEAR, DAY, &ca.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

The Hindoos have 12 months in a yeare and every month 30 days in it one with another, so that in their yeare there is 360 dayes, but alwayes in 2½ yeares they ad one month beeing 30 dayes, so that to their years may be reckoned one with another 372 dayes, their day and night consists of 8 Purr or 60 Gurries each Gurry of 60 Pull, each Pull of 60 Bepull. But according to most accounts there are but 365 days in every yeare.

112. MOORES MONTHES

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16.

(*a*) Upon January the 1st 167½, the 19th day of the Moores month Rowson which hath 30 dayes in it, then Shavwall 29, Judcawd 30, Julleedge 29, Mohorrum 30, Suffar 29, Rabbenewdull 30, Rabbesouned 29, Jemelowull 30, Jemedusonnee 29, Rodjub 30, Shawbawne 29, so that in all there are 354 in the year their Account being according to the Moone.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16a.

(*b*) The Moores Kings yeare is from the Suns entring into ♈ till that time againe the names of the months as follow

1. Forwardee.	5. Merdaud.	9. Auzor.
2. Ardebehist.	6. Sharrowar.	10. Dy.
3. Chordaud.	7. Meehr.	11. Bawmun.
4. Teer.	8. Awboh.	12. Jefindar.

113. HINDOOS MONTHS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16.

The Hindoos have 4 sorts of months, one from Full Moon to Full Moon, which call Mans mina whence comes their Poor-Massee of night of Full Moon which is the Full month, 2d from New Moon to New Moon, or rather night they see new moone, which they call Chaundraine, 3d from first Quarter of Moon from its being full till that time againe, which call Omnoos, 4th from Suns entring into a Signe and its continuance there which call Sincrant.

114. [THE DAY OF BRAHMAN]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

Nilcunt (Nilkanth] Doctor Saith That when Burma made the world, every one of his Pullucks or twinckling

with his eyes were as long as 7000 of the Hindoos yeares. Hee had 4 Pullucks in every Gurry and 60 Gurries in every day; so that one of his dayes were as long as 1680000 yeares, and one of his yeares of 360 dayes equall to 604800000 yeares, and 100 yeares which hee lived (reckoning at every $2\frac{1}{2}$ yeares 30 dayes to bee added) are equall to 62371680000 yeares.

115. POLLUCK

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

A Polluck is the Twinkling of the Eye and some say that 4 Pollucks make one Bepull, 60 Bepulls one Pull, 60 Pulls one Gurry &ca, and according to that account Burmahs age will be greater a vast deale; and although somtimes a man may keepe his eyes from twinkling a great while, yet againe when they begin to twinckle, they twinkle the faster, so that in 24 houres they always twinkle alike if awake; and so many times as a mans eyes twinkle, so many times hee breathes, so that those that have the art to hold their breath for a long time, can for as long time keepe their eyes from twinkling.

116. TO KNOW WHAT TIME OF DAY

To know what time of day. First measure your shadow and to that ad 7; then by them both divide 144, and what remains in the Quotient tells you how many gurries of the day are gone or to come, as suppose the shadow 10 Feet, to which I ad 7 makes 17, by which divide 144, and there will bee 8 in the Quotient and 8 remaining, so that I know the sun is $8\frac{8}{17}$ gurries high.

117. SAUT

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

Saut is the 6th part of a Pull, 60 of which Pull make one Gurry. A Saut is so long time as a man can distinckly repeat the word Pull 10 times.

118. FOUR JOOGS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 34.

One Bamin saith That the first Joog was Coljoog, after that Doopor, after that Tretan, and last Sutjoog; but hee knows not wherefore Coljoog was 432000 years, but to avoid nonplus saith that (being these joogs move 72 times), multiply 72 by 6; and it will make 432 to which ad 3 Cyphers and they make 432000. Also by the same reason I conceive hee may say 12 (which is the number of the Celestiall houses) multiplied by 6 make 72. But I conceive the reason to be this. According to Plato and also to some of these Bamins, the Houses move so that in 3000 years Aries got into Taurus his house, and Taurus into Geminies &ca:, so that in 36000 years they will move round; so multiply 36000 by 12 (the number of the houses) and there ariseth 432000 yeares; also 432000 doubled make 864000, trebled 1296000, quadrupled 1728000, which are the 4 ages or joogs, and being that of Coljoog 4772 years are past, and that by some it is accounted the first joog; this differs not much from the Account that some make from Adam or the Creation of the world, most saying it is betwixt 48, 5000 [? 4800 and 5000] years old, though some say tis above 5000 years old.

119. TO KNOW WHAT CLOCK DAY OR NIGHT

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17.

The Hindoos have a way to know what a clock tis either day or night without seeing Sun or Moon (*vizt.*) Let a man take hold of one of the joynts of their fingers, and accordingly the Question must be answered according to the following table (*vizt.*)

Thumb.			Forefinger.			Long finger.			Ring finger.			Little finger.		
joynt	gur.	pull.	joynt	gur.	pull.	joynt	gur	pull	joynt	gur	pull.	joynt	gur.	pull.
1	10	20	1	6	12	1	13	26	1	14	28	1	15	30
2	11	22	2	12	24	2	5	10	2	7	14	2	9	18
3	1	2	3	8	16	3	3	6	3	4	8	3	2	4

Another Astrologer saith That it is in generall thus

	gur.	gur.	gur.
if take hold on thumb will bee either	1	6 or	11
if on fore finger then	2	7	12
if on long finger	3	8	13
if on ring finger	4	9	14
if on little finger	5	10	15

120. TO KNOW WHAT A CLOCK

Take a straw of 7 fingers breadth long and see what shade it casts, and to it ad 7, by which divide 144, and the Question is answered.

121. TO KNOW WHAT TIME OF DAY

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 18.

Take a straw of 20 inches long and ly flat upon the ground, then double up one end so much as till shade of the end thereof reach to the end of that part that lies on the ground, and then so much of the straw as was doubled or turned up tells how many gurries the Sun

is high, as if 5 inches were doubled up, then the Sun is 5 gurries high.

122. GURRIES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 8.

The way of the Moors and Hindoos keeping account of the day is by Gurrials as followeth (*vizt.*):

They have a brass dish with a little hole in the bottom, which they put into a pale of water, so that when it is filled up to a certaine place it is one Gurries time. In some places, as at Pattana, they have Glasses with sand in them, made like our houre-glasses in England, which are an exact Gurry. The day and night are divided into Sixty Gurries, so that every Gurry is Twenty foure Minutes or Sixtieth part of an English day. They also divide the day into 4 Purr, and the night into 4 Purr, and begin the day a little before Sunrise, about a quarter of an houre, just when the horison is read, and continues it untill so long after Sunset, so that in Summer time when the dayes are long, the Purrs are long, and per contra, so that sometimes there are 9 Gurries in one Purr, and at some times but 6. Whereas, if the day and night were divided into equall Purrs, there would be but 7½ Gurries in every Purr.

TO KNOW WHAT GURRY IT IS

They have a way to know how many Gurry it is by the Shadow, *viz*: a man observes how long his shadow is by feete and to that adds 6, and when both added hee therewith divides 120, and the Quotient tells how many Gurryes are past, if before noone; if after noone how many are behind of that day. As

Example : if the length of a mans shadow be 4 of his feete, to that 4 add 6, which make 10 ; then I see how many times 10 I can have in 120, which I finde 12 times, which tells mee that 12 Gurries is gone of the day, so subtract the Gurries in one Purr from it, and it will Answer the Question—to be more then one Purr, so many Gurries, which will be according to the days length.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IX

BY G. R. KAYE

[IN view of the state of the text it has been considered necessary to present a set of general notes (marked A-S), which collect the scattered information into some sort of order. This is supplemented by a set of briefer notes, following the text as it now stands, section by section, and consisting largely of references to the general notes.]

A. ASTROLOGY

Astrology has been, from very early times, an important factor in the life of the Hindu, and the profession of astrology is now a prosperous and crowded one, to which the whole population looks for guidance in its daily affairs.[1] In very early times a crude astrology prevailed (see the *Atharva Veda*, xix. 1-5). In the early centuries of the Christian era the Greek teaching of astrology was received by the Hindus, and assimilated with their traditional astrology. The great exponent of this combined Greek and Hindu astrology was Varāha Mihira (sixth century A.D.), and his works—*Brihat Samhitā*, *Brihaj Jātaka*, and *Laghu Jātaka*—are still authoritative. The Arabs were indebted to the Hindus for a good deal of astrological lore but later on the Hindus took certain notions from the Muslim astrologers; and in the seventeenth century A.D. the Muslim astrolabe makers had considerable influence among the Hindu astrologers. From the beginning of the twelfth century to the end of the fifteenth century European astrology was largely Arabic in origin. In more modern times a certain amount of European teaching has been absorbed by Hindu astrologers.[2]

Marshall's notes on Hindu astrology pertain to the seventeenth century. At that period the Hindu astrologers had hardly come under the influence of modern European teaching, and we can

[1] L. D. Barnett, *Ant. of India*, p. 184.

[2] For information on ancient Hindu astrology see also *Alberuni's India*, by E. C. Sachau; A. Weber, *Zur Gesch. d. Ind. Astrologie* (Ind. Stud. ii.); H. Jacobi, *De Astrol. Indicae . . . accedunt Laghu-Jātaka. etc.*; G. Thibaut, *Astron. Astrol. und Math.* (Grundriss der ind. arischen Phil.); G. R. Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1924).

only expect to find in Marshall's exposition a system based upon Hindu tradition going back to the pre-Greek period, Greek teaching, Muslim and other outside eastern influences, and local influences not necessarily of an astrological nature. Undoubtedly it is mainly based on the Greek teaching [1] and indigenous tradition, while the form in which it is presented is Indian.

Hindu astrology of the seventeenth century differed from that of the West in certain important matters, such as the use of the system of Nakshatras or Lunar Mansions; of the scheme of *Daśās* or Planetary periods; of a peculiar system of Aspects; of the *Navāmśa* (Novenary) diagram, etc. Certain Indian astrologers practically discarded the use of the Horoscope proper, and made the Houses and Signs identical; some made the position of the Moon at birth supersede in importance the Ascendant, while others based their work on the scheme of *Daśās*

Marshall's notes were compiled in India in A.D. 1671-2, during the reign of Aurangzeb. Newton was then at work on his theory of Gravitation, and Greenwich Observatory was founded soon after (1675). In Europe astrology was beginning to be discredited, but it still flourished.

Marshall's astrology may be compared with Chapter LXXX. of Albīrūnī's celebrated work on India, which was written some six centuries earlier; but Marshall's notes are less logical, less accurate, and, consequently, more obscure, than Albīrūnī's. Albīrūnī's information was obtained mostly from Hindu works (principally those of Varāha Mihira), while Marshall seems to rely principally upon verbal information. (But see § 114 and the note thereon.) Marshall's notes are jottings taken down at odd times from different informants. They are not in any logical order; they often repeat information already given; often the essential matter is only given by implication, and the principles of the science are nowhere exhibited. We may assume that these notes do not represent Marshall's considered judgment; but his notes on astronomical points are far from being fair representations of Hindu astronomical knowledge.

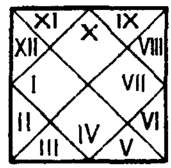
Marshall's transliteration of Indian terms is very confusing, and, in some cases makes the identification of the originals impossible.

B DIAGRAMS.

Marshall is quite orthodox, according to the Hindu fashion, in exhibiting a rectangular diagram, and in making little practical use of it. The rectangular diagram is western in origin (see Bouché-Leclercq, *l'Astrologie grecque*, p. 281 *sqq.*), but has been in use

[1] India obtained from the Greeks the Signs of the Zodiac, Planetary astrology, the complete Horoscope, and all the accompanying details.

in India since the time of Varāha Mihira.[1] Marshall gives three examples (§§ 8, 22), all of which are based upon the one here illustrated. He gives no explanation of the Horoscope. In § 61 he gives a table of *Oblique Ascensions*, but, apparently without any understanding. This table is fairly accurate for a latitude of about 24 degrees (see Kaye, *Hindu Astron.* pp. 80, 123); and such a table is necessary for the determination of the point of the ecliptic on the horizon (*horoscope, ascendant*, Sans. *lagna*) and the other cusps. No use of the table is made by Marshall.



The second diagram in § 8 is concerned with Aspects. See Note I.

C. THE SIGNS

The signs of the zodiac were imported into India with the Greek astronomy and astrology in the early centuries of our era. The Hindus had a similar scheme for the division of the ecliptic in their 27 equally spaced nakshatras (see note J) Marshall equates the two schemes, making one sign -2¼ nakshatras (§§ 3, 4, 6). He indicates those signs that are the *domiciles* of the planets (§§ 14, 24, 25, 48, 50, etc.), and those that are their *exaltations* (§§ 18, 73), and in § 73 he gives an unorthodox list of *depressions*. In § 47 he gives the *trigons* or *triplicities*, but without any such terminology; and also their appropriate elements In § 16 he classifies the signs as good and bad, but in an unorthodox manner: here he seems to have taken the *domiciles* of the malefic planets (♄, ♂, ☉) as the bad signs. There is no direct mention of a division of the signs into ninths (*novenaries, navāmśas*), which generally play an important part in Hindu astrology; but such divisions are possibly implied in § 6 and in the table in § 15, where quarters of nakshatras (*i.e. navāmsas*) figure largely

Marshall's information about the signs is summarised in the following table:

THE SIGNS

	♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
Are domiciles of .	♂	♀	☿	☾	○	☿ ☊
Are exaltations of -	☉	☾	---	♃	- -	☿
Are depressions of -	—	♃	☾	☿ ☋	♄ ☊	☾
Their elements are	Fire	Earth	Air	Water	Fire	Earth
Their nature is -	Bad	Good	Good	Good	Bad	Good

[1] The square diagram seems to have dropped out of use in Europe soon after the establishment of the Copernican theory; but it is still employed in India.

THE SIGNS—*continued.*

	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Are domiciles of -	♀	♂	♃	♄	♄	♃
Are exaltations of -	♄	—	—	♂	—	♀
Are depressions of -	♃	—	♀	☉	☉	? ♂
Their elements are	Air	Water	[Fire	Earth	Air	Water]
Their nature is -	Good	Bad	Good	Bad	Bad	Bad

D. SIGNS AND HOUSES

Marshall confuses houses and signs. Often when speaking of houses he designates them by the symbols for signs, and when dealing with signs he often calls them houses. This confusion is not altogether due to Marshall himself, for it obtains in many Indian text books.[1] He employs the terms " Ross " (*rāsi*, a sign) and " Burge " (?), and gives the following definitions of them : " The Ross is the house or Burge the Moone was in when borne, but the Burge or house hee is of is the house that raigned when he was borne " (§ 60). Again he says (§ 63), " The Bramins account chiefly from the Burge that raigned when Native was borne and not so much from the Ross " ; and in § 3 he equates " one Burge or Ross " to 2¼ nakshatras. Perhaps by " burge " he means the sign of the ascendant, and by " ross " the Moon's sign at birth.

E HOUSES

It is difficult to identify all the cases in which houses are concerned, for they are often called signs. For example, the tables in §§ 12, 24, 33, 62 profess to show the relationship of planets to signs, but are largely concerned with houses ; and in §§ 13, 24, 37, 45, 47, 50, where houses are spoken of, signs are meant. In some cases, however, there is no ambiguity : in § 9 the diagram is said to show " the forme of the 12 celestiall houses ", and in § 40 the houses are said to turn round every 24 hours. In § 75 (and partly in §§ 12 and 72) are given the " effects " of the houses, which, in the table opposite, are compared with orthodox and western schemes.

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[1] Of course, sometimes the houses and signs are identical, and there was a slight confusion in Western terminology between domiciles and houses. Also certain Western astrologers actually made the houses equivalents of the signs, and Ptolemy did not approve the theory of houses.

Houses.	*Marshall.*	*Indian.*[1]	*Western.*[2]
I.	Health.	Body.	Life.
II.	Riches.	Property.	Riches.
III.	Brothers.	Brothers.	Brothers.
IV.	Parents.	Parents.	Parents.
V.	Children.	Sons.	Children.
VI.	Friends.	Enemies.	Health.
VII.	Wives	Wives.	Marriage
VIII.	Health	Death.	Death.
IX.	Liberality.	Morality.	Religion.
X.	Honour.	Honour.	Dignities.
XI	Age.	Income.	Friendship.
XII.	Charge.	Expenses.	Enmity.

In § 13 the houses are divided into two groups, I, IV, VII, X, which are said to assist the querent; and VI, XII, which hinder him: and this classification is enlarged upon in § 23. In §§ 70 and 81 the groups are I, IV, VII, X and V, IX; while in § 78 they are grouped thus:

I,	IV,	VII,	X,
II,	V,	VII,	XI,
III,	VI,	IX,	XII,

that is, in square aspect. In classical astrology the houses are sometimes grouped as follows:

Most powerful -	I, IV, VII, X.
Lucky - -	III, V, IX, XI
Unlucky - -	II, VI, VIII, XII.

But there are found other groupings, *e g.*

Centres - -	I, IV, VII, X
Lucky - -	XI, II, V, IX, III, VIII.
Unlucky - -	VI, XII,

and this agrees rather better with our text. (See A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrol grecque*, p. 287) See also note I. on "Aspects."

F. THE PLANETS.

Hindu astrologers often include among the planets *Rāhu*, or the Dragon's Head (*i.e.* the ascending node of the Moon's orbit), and *Ketu*, or the Dragon's Tail (*i.e.* the descending node). Marshal mentions both (§§ 30, 41, 87), but ordinarily omits *Ketu* and sometimes *Rāhu* also.[3] Little formal information is given about

[1] After Varāha Mihira.

[2] After von Oetele in *E.R.E.* Art. ' Sun, Moon and Stars."

[3] Marshall does not use the terms *Rāhu* and *Ke'u*, but generally designates them by the symbols for the nodes ☊ and ☋. Occasionally the term " Dragon's Head " is used for *Rāhu*.

the planets, but certain of their astrological attributes are implied. An incomplete list of "hostile" planets is given in § 10, and rather more is implied in §§ 37, 44 and 54. The planetary "domiciles" are given or implied in §§ 14, 24, 25, 26, 48, 50. The "colours" appropriate to the planets, by way of appeasing them, are given in § 28, and here is indication of the planetary worship that obtains in India even to the present day. In § 18 the "exaltations" of the planets are exhibited in a disguised form, relating to the birth of a Rājā, and again in § 73. In § 17 certain attributes of the planets, that are only partly orthodox, are stated ; in § 94 the directions they rule are indicated ; in §§ 35 and 65 they are classified as good and bad ; and in § 36 to each of them a number of weapons is allotted. In §§ 12, 24 and 62 the powers of the planets according to their positions are exhibited ; and the chief features seem to be sickness caused by the malefic planets (particularly in houses I and IV), and death caused by the same planets (particularly in III and IV). In § 23 the planets seem to be classified according to their connection with (1) inanimate objects, (2) living creatures, (3) wealth. There is a brief statement in § 31 regarding two or three planets in one house causing cloudy weather, wind or fighting. The number of the planets varies from six (in § 82) to nine (in §§ 39, 87).

The actual positions of the planets on certain dates are given in §§ 11 and 55 (see note O) ; and the planetary *dasās* are referred to on several occasions (see note L). Marshall's information is summarised in the following table :

	♄ Saturn	♃ Jupiter.	♂ Mars.	☉ Sun.
Hostile [1] - -	♂, ☉	♀	♄, ☋	♄, ☋
Domiciles -	♑, ♒	♐, ♓	♏, ♈	♌
Exaltations -	♎	♋	♑	♈
Depressions [2] -	♌	♉, ♎	? ♓	♑, ♓
Attributes -	Riches	Marriage	Fighting	Mirth and content
Bad planets -	Bad	—	Bad	Bad
Colours [3] - -	Black	Red	Red	Red
Directions -	W.	N	S.	E.
No. of weapons	15	18	12	12
Dasās - -	10	19	8	6
Connected with	Inanimate objects	Living creatures	Wealth	Wealth

[1, 2, 3] *See footnotes on opposite page.*

	♀ Venus.	☿ Mercury.	☾ Moon.	☊ Rāhu.
Hostile[1] - -	♃	☾	☿, ☊	☉ ☾
Domiciles -	♉, ♎	♊, ♍	♋	♍
Exaltations -	♓	♍	♉	♍
Depressions[2] -	♐	♋	♊, ♍	♋, ♌
Attributes -	Travel	Wit	Good things	Contention
Bad planets -	—	—	—	Bad
Colours[3] - -	White	Yellow	White	—
Directions -	E.	S.	W.	—
No. of weapons	11	10	16	18
Daśās - -	21	17	15	12
Connected with	Living creatures	?	Living creatures	Iron or armour

G. PLANETS, HOUSES AND SIGNS

Marshall makes several rather elaborate statements, which profess to show the effects produced according to the positions of the planets in the zodiac or according to their relation with the houses (§§ 12, 23, 24, 33, 62, 72); but in most of these statements he does not clearly differentiate between houses and signs. Also, it is not clear whether these statements refer to the horoscope proper or to the position of the Moon at birth. In §§ 12 and 33 he appears to be referring to the former scheme, and in § 62 to the latter, but the differentiation is by no means clearly expressed. Paragraphs 12 and 62 are very similar, the differences being principally verbal. Paragraphs 23 and 24 refer to so-called horary questions. A sort of supplement to § 62 is given in § 72 (*a*), the principal topic being travel, which was specially treated by Varāha Mihira.

It will be noticed that §§ 12 and 62 are principally based upon those effects due to houses already given in note E. In these

[1] Varāha Mihira gives (*B J*, ii. 16-17) the following list of hostile planets:

♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☾
♂	♀	☿	♄	☉	☾	—
☉						
☾	☿	—	♀	☾	—	—

[2] See note to § 73.

[3] See Kaye's *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 113, for other lists. Marshall's list follows Hindu tradition, but Jupiter's colour is generally given as yellow.

two tables and also in those of §§ 24 and 33 the effects are also classified as good, bad or indifferent, but here no basic principle appears to be followed.

H. PLANETS, DAYS AND *GHATIS*

In § 38 a rule is given whose object appears to be to determine the lords of the *ghatīs*, and the same rule is repeated in § 69. This rule may be expressed by $6G\text{-}1 \equiv x \bmod 7$ for day-time, and $5G\text{-}1 \equiv x \bmod 7$ for night-time, where G is the number of the current *ghatī*, and x indicates the planet in the week-day order, beginning with Sunday. The orthodox Hindu (and European) rule, as given by Varāha Mihira in his *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, is

$$D+5(H-1) \equiv x \bmod 7,$$

where D is the number of the day of the week, and H the current hour. Possibly Marshall's rule is an echo of Varāha Mihira's; but no systematic arrangement of the planets by *ghatīs* will give the proper lords for the first *ghatīs*.

Raghunanda, after converting *ghatīs* into hours, says. "In the day these are regulated by intervals of six . . . in the night by intervals of five." (H. T. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, 1799, p. 107.)

The orthodox rule gives the planetary lords of the hours for Saturday as follows : [1]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10, etc., *hours*.
♄	♃	♂	○	♀	☿	☾	♄	♃	♂, etc.

The rule in paragraphs 38 and 69 gives the following order :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10, etc., *ghatīs*.
♄	♀	♃	☿	♂	☾	○	♄	♀	♃, etc., for day-time.

while paragraph 26 gives the following : [2]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8, *ghatīs*
Sunday	○	○	♃	♄	♄	☾	♄	—
Monday	-	♄	♂	○	—	♄	♄	♃.
Tuesday	—	♄	♂	♃	—	♄	♄	—
Wednesday	—	—	♄	♄	♄	♂	○	—
Thursday	—	—	♄	—	♂	—	♄	♄.
Friday	—	♄	♄	♄	—	—	♂	—
Saturday	♄	♂	—	—	♃	♄	—	♄.

[1] For the other days the same order is followed, but beginning with the proper day planet.

[2] This table exhibits no obvious principle, and its source has not been traced. It recalls, faintly, the scheme of Alexander Neckham (1151-1217), who allots the first three hours (? one watch) and the last three hours to the lord of the day (L. T. Thorndyke, *A History of Magic and Experimental Sciences*, ii. 220 and 670).

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16, *ghatīs*
Sunday	—	—	—	—	♀	—	—	—
Monday	—	♀	—	☾	—	—	—	☿.
Tuesday	☾	—	—	♀	—	—	—	—
Wednesday	♃	♀	—	—	—	☾	—	—
Thursday	—	—	♃	—	—	—	♀	—
Friday	—	—	♃	—	—	—	—	—
Saturday	♀	—	—	—	♀	—	—	—

The table in § 44 gives the ' good ' and ' bad ' planets for each sign for each day of the week. If it be understood that the second line in each cell refers to a ' bad ' planet, then it will be seen that in most cases each of these ' bad ' planets is hostile either to the corresponding day planet or to the lord of the corresponding sign.

I. ASPECTS

The Hindu scheme of ' aspects ' is peculiar. It has been handed down from the sixth century at least, and is followed by Marshall, who gives it in § 66, and part of it in § 21. The rule, as given by Varāha Mihira is: " The planets aspect the third and tenth houses with one-fourth, the fifth and ninth with one-half, the fourth and eighth with three-quarters, and the seventh with full sight." Varāha Mihira appears to modify this rule for certain planets, but Marshall gives it as it stands, repeating the information that " the 2nd, 6th, 11th, 12th see noe houses but themselves." The rule may be represented thus:

Houses	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Amount of Aspect	0	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0

The genesis of the rule is obscure. Illustrations are given in § 72 (*b*).

In § 8 is given a diagram, which associates the signs in the groups:

♈	♋	♎	♑
♉	♊	♏	♐
♌	♍	♒	♓

i.e. in parallel, and this scheme is " to know when any Planet will fight with each other, when enemies, and when to assist

each other, when friends." The scheme may be compared with similar schemes illustrated by Bouché-Leclercq (*L'Astrologie grecque*, p. 161); but it differs from them in having the parallels inclined to the line of the equinoxes. The following arrangement of "square aspects" is given for "houses" in § 78, where each row forms a set of "brothers," because they "see each other."

I,	IV,	VII,	X,
II,	V,	VIII,	XI,
III,	VI,	IX,	XII.

J. NAKSHATRAS AND YOGAS

(*a*) *Nakshatras.* According to Hindu authorities there are 27 or 28 nakshatras, which are ordinarily considered as ecliptic constellations. The *Jyotisha Vedānga* makes each of the 27 nakshatras occupy 13⅓° of the ecliptic, while Brahmagupta and others give 28 nakshatras, unequally spaced along the ecliptic.[1] Marshall states explicitly that there are 27 nakshatras and that 2¼ nakshatras are equal to one sign (§§ 2, 3, 4), but he gives 28 nakshatras in § 5. He makes the nakshatras begin with *Aśvinī*, and equates the first point of *Aśvinī* with the first point of Aries (§ 6). In §§ 57, 59, 74, however, he begins with *Krittikā*, and the list in § 5 is actually a *Krittikādi* list In § 15 is given a table of nakshatras and signs (? houses) in which, for each house, the nakshatra is classed as of good or bad effect. Here it will be noted that there are often groups of 2¼ nakshatras (*i.e.* one sign), and some single quarters of nakshatras (*i.e.* novenaries or *navāmśas*). It will also be noted that the groups of 2¼ do not on the basis of 27 equally spaced nakshatras, beginning with *Asvini*, generally correspond to signs. The reason for the "bad" effects is not evident.[2] In § 40 numbers 1, 10, 18, 23, 24, 26 are said to be bad, and this agrees, more or less, with § 15. Another list of good and bad nakshatras is given in § 49, and this may be said to be orthodox after the Hindu fashion, but it does not agree very well with § 15; and another list occurs in § 91 In § 8 the following are said to be the best, 8, 17, 21 and 1.

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[1] For further information see Kaye's *Hind. Astron.* p. 22 *sqq.*

[2] Roughly, the table agrees with the list of bad signs in § 16. See Note C.

The scales of signs and nakshatras are compared in the following table :

SIGNS - - -		♈		♉		♊		♋	
Bad signs, § 16 - -		*							
NAKSHATRAS - -	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bad nakshatras, § 40	*								
,, ,, § 49	*	*							*
,, ,, § 91		*							
SIGNS - - -		♌		♍		♎		♏	
Bad signs, § 16 - -		*						*	
NAKSHATRAS - -	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Bad nakshatras, § 40	*								*
,, ,, § 49	*								*
,, ,, § 91	*			*					
SIGNS - - -		♐		♑		♒		♓	
Bad signs, § 16 - -				*		*			*
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Bad nakshatras, § 40					*	*			*
,, ,, § 49									*
,, ,, § 91	*						*		

Here the bad signs and bad nakshatras are marked with asterisks ; but the examples from § 49 require some qualification, according to the text. Also it must be borne in mind that Marshall's list of bad signs is not orthodox.

The names of the nakshatras are given in §§ 2 and 3 (see Note S), and in § 3 they are classified as males (1-5 and 19-27), females (6-8), and eunuchs (9-18). In § 77 the native's nakshatra is said to indicate the form of his previous existence, and a list of animals is given. The first of these corresponds to the name of the first nakshatra *Aśvinī* (*aśva*, a horse) to some extent ; but the list, as a whole, seems to have little astrological significance. See, however, *Brihat Samhitā*, xv. and § 88 of our text.

(*b*) *Yogas*. In § 82 is a list of *yogas*, and in § 84 are certain rules connected with them. For early accounts of these 'yogas' see *Sūrya Siddhānta*, xi., and Albīrūnī's *India*, ch. lxxix. Astronomically a yoga is the period during which the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and Moon is increased by $13\frac{1}{3}°$, or one

nakshatra. To determine the yoga Marshall gives in § 84 a rule which may be expressed by $2M+D \equiv x \bmod 27$, where M is the number of months counting from *Aśvina*, D is the number of days, and x gives the number of the yoga according to the list in § 82. There is some ambiguity here, but the following example is given: 6th day of *Phālguna*, $2 \times 6+6=18$, "so that day the 18th Joog raigned."

The usual rule is $y=s+m=2s+12t$, where s and m are the longitudes of the Sun and Moon. Possibly Marshall's rule is obtained from this in the way indicated in Note Q (*a*).

In § 84 it is stated that when certain yogas and nakshatras [1] "meet" then it is unlucky. The rule may be expressed by

$$2N-1 \equiv Y \bmod 27,$$

which gives

$N.=$1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19, etc.
$Y.=$1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	2	4	6	8	10, etc.

K. THE POSITION OF THE MOON AT BIRTH

Marshall states (§ 12) that the Brahmans reckon "by the Ross, that is, the place of the Moon at the time of birth, so that if a child be borne when the Moon is in ♈, his Ross is in ♈." In § 63 he writes, "The Bramins account chiefly from the Burge that raigned when the Native was borne and not so much from the Ross," where by "Burge" he, possibly, means the sign in the ascendant. In these two conflicting statements we have two schools of astrology represented. Whereas, generally, the fundamental operation is the determination of the ascendant, in the Hindu astrology, as set forth by Marshall, the fundamental operation is the determination of the position of the Moon at birth The effect of a planet in this latter scheme depends upon its position relative to the Moon's position at birth, and is in no way dependent upon the ascendant or rising sign. The horoscope is roughly adapted accordingly; to the first house is allotted the Moon's sign, and so on. Some of Marshall's tables are to be read accordingly; but the influence of both schemes is at work, and a certain amount of ambiguity ensues. In § 22 a special diagram for the lunar system is given, but it is only a fanciful variation of the ordinary rectangular diagram.

The origin of this lunar astrology is obscure. Varāha Mihira does not mention it, Albīrūnī makes no reference to it, and some modern Hindu works exclude it altogether. There is, possibly, some connection with the ceremony of naming the child (see Note N).

[1] By "nakshatra" is here meant the moon's nakshatra.

L. *DAŚĀS* OR PLANETARY PERIODS

The system of *Daśās*, which is supposed to determine the period of life (*daśā*), is not based upon any obvious astronomical principle. One scheme (that implied by Marshall) allots to the planets 108 years,[1] distributed as follows:

Planets	☉	☾	♂	☿	♄	♃	☊	♀	
Years	6	15	8	17	10	19	12	21	= 108,

and is consequently called the *Ashtottaridaśā*. The scheme of *daśās* and *antardaśās* (subdivisions of the *daśās*), partly exhibited by Marshall in §§ 27, 29, 30, 45, 51, 54, 57, 70, 74, is more or less orthodox, and is a modification of that given by Varāha Mihira (*BJ*, vii and viii.). The fundamental *daśā* periods are implied in § 54, 70 and 74, and in § 29 are given the *antardaśās*. No explanation of how these figures are obtained is given by Marshall, but the process is as follows. The year of 360 days is divided amongst the planets in proportion to their *daśās*, and then each of these results is similarly subdivided. If $a_1, a_2, \ldots a_8$ be the original *daśās*, $b_1, b_2, \ldots b_8$ the first sub-divisions, and $c_{1,1}\ c_{1,2} \ldots c_{8,8}$ the *antardaśās*; then $b_1 = a_1\Sigma b/\Sigma a$, $b_2 = a_2\Sigma b/\Sigma a$, etc.; $c_{1,1} = a_1 b_1/\Sigma a$, $c_{2,1} = a_2 b_1/\Sigma a$, etc.; and $c_{n,r} = c_{r,n}$. For example $b_2 = 15 \times 360/108 = 50$, $b_3 = 8.4 \times 360/108 = 28$, etc.; and

$$c_{3,5} = a_3 b_5/108 = 8.4 \times 36/108 = 2.8 = 2 \text{ days } 48 \textit{ ghatīs}.$$

The following table shows the results of these calculations:

	Daśās in years.		Days.	*Antardaśās*											
				☉			☾			♂			☿		
	A.	B.		d.	g.	p.	d.	g	p.	d.	g.	p.	d	g.	p.
☉	6	6	20	1	6	40	2	46	40	1	33	20	3	6	40
☾	15	15	50	2	46	40	6	56	40	3	53	20	7	46	40
♂	8	8·4	28	1	33	20	3	53	20	2	10	40	4	21	20
☿	17	16·8	56	3	6	40	7	46	40	4	21	20	8	42	40
♄	10	10·8	36	2	0	0	5	0	0	2	48	0	5	36	0
♃	19	17·4	58	3	13	20	8	3	20	4	30	40	9	1	20
☊	12	12·6	42	2	20	0	5	50	0	3	16	0	6	32	0
♀	21	21	70	3	53	20	9	43	20	5	26	40	10	53	20
	108	108	360	20	0	0	50	0	0	28	0	0	56	0	0

[1] Perhaps connected with the 108 novenaries. Pietro of Abano (fourteenth century), who exploited eastern astrology allots 120 years as the maximum period of life, and divides this period among the seven planets (Thorndyke, *Hist. Magic and Exp. Science*, ii. 894).

	Dasās in years.		Days.	*Antardasās.*											
				♄			♃			☊			♀		
	A.	B.		d.	g.	p.	d.	g.	p.	d.	g.	p.	d.	g.	p.
☉	6	6	20	2	0	0	3	13	20	2	20	0	3	53	20
☾	15	15	50	5	0	0	8	3	20	5	50	0	9	43	20
♂	8	8·4	28	2	48	0	4	30	40	3	16	0	5	26	40
☿	17	16·8	56	5	36	0	9	1	20	6	32	0	10	53	20
♄	10	10·8	36	3	36	0	5	48	0	4	12	0	7	0	0
♃	19	17·4	58	5	48	0	9	20	40	6	46	0	11	16	40
☊	12	12·6	42	4	12	0	6	46	0	4	54	0	8	10	0
♀	21	21	70	7	0	0	11	16	40	8	10	0	13	36	40
	108	108	360	36	0	0	58	0	0	42	0	0	70	0	0

The order of the planets is peculiar, but appears to be traditional.[1] Column A shows the *dasās* as given in the text, but the final results are not obtained by these values, but by those shown in column B, which are not given in the text. Marshall explains (§ 29) that the year is divided amongst the planets, and that, for example, during the 20 days allotted to the Sun, " all

[1] The following rearrangements show some system :

Bad planets.			Good planets			
1.	☉	6	8.	♀	21	6+21 = 27
3	♂	8	6.	♃	19	8+19 = 27
5.	♄	10	4	☿	17	10+17 = 27
7.	☊	12	2	☾	15	12+15 = 27
		36			72	36+72 = 108

or

1.	☉	6	8.	♀	21
2.	☾	15	7.	☊	12
3	♂	8	6.	♃	19
4.	☿	17	5.	♄	10

The planets are arranged alternatively " bad " and " good " on the basis of the week-day order. To the " bad " planets is allotted one-third of the whole period, and two-thirds to the " good " planets. These portions are distributed in arithmetical progression, with a common difference of two.

the 7 Planets raigne and Dragon's Head, though not equally . . . alwayes beginning from the Sun entring that Ross that the Native was of and reccon the first 20 days for the Sun, the next 50 dayes for the Moon, and so of the rest." Again (§ 45) " If any particular planet that raignes within the Sun's 20 dayes be good and the Sun be bad, yet the Sun shall do no hurt dureing the time that good Planet raignes, but will after." In § 57 is a rule[1] for determining which planet is to be taken first, namely :

$$Age + nakshatra \equiv x \bmod 8,$$

and this is illustrated by the following example: Suppose the party's age is twenty and his birth nakshatra is *Aśvini*, which is the 26th from *Krittikā*, then $20+26 \equiv 6 \bmod 8$, so that Jupiter, the 6th planet in the order given will come first, " who will first raigne his 58 dayes, then ☊ his 42 dayes, and so of the rest." This rule assumes that if the native were born in *Krittikā* the Sun was dominant (see § 59) ; for at birth the rule is

$$nakshatra \equiv x \bmod 8,$$

which determines the *daśāpatis* ; for example, $12 \equiv 4 \bmod 8$ and the planet is Mercury.[2]

Marshall gives some applications of the system of *daśās*, but he is not very lucid. In § 51 he states that Saturn shortens man's life according to a table of positions which is partly explained by the following statement :

SIGNS	♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
Deductions	10*	21	17	15	6	17
DOMINANTS	♂	♀	☿	☾	☉	☿
Their *daśās*	8	21	17	15	6	17

SIGNS	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Deductions	21	8	21*	11*	15*	24*
DOMINANTS	♀	♂	♃	♄	♄	♃
Their *daśās*	21	8	19	10	10	19

Here the deductions to be made are, in most cases, the *daśās* of the dominants or lords of the signs. Of the exceptions, which are marked with asterisks, 10 is the *daśā* of Saturn, the enemy of Mars ; 21 is the *daśā* of Venus, the enemy of Jupiter ; and 15 is the *daśā* of the moon. See also § 70, where the deductions

[1] The *Kālaprakāsikā* gives the following rule : " Count the nakshatras from Krittikā to the birth nakshatra and divide by nine."

[2] See H. P. Chatterji's *Brihajjatakam of Varāha Mihira*, p. 145, for a different rule.

are made if the planet be in the ascendant or in houses IV, VII, X, V or IX.

In § 54 is a similar table showing the deductions to be made for each planet according to its position, which Marshall himself explains on the basis that the planets given are the enemies of the lords of the corresponding signs. This explanation, however, is, as in the former table, only partly true, as the following statement shows :

SIGNS	♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
PLANETS	☊ ♄	♀* ♃	☾	☿	☊ ♄	☾
Their *daśās*	12 10	21 19	15	17	12 10	15
Deductions	12 10	21 19	15	17	12 10	15
Lords of signs	♂	♀	☿	☾	☉	☿
Their enemies	☊ ♄	♃	☾	☿	☊ ♄	☾

SIGNS	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
PLANETS	♃	☉ ♄	♀ ♂*	☊ ☉	☊ ☉	♀ ☉*
Their *daśās*	19	12 10	21 8	12 6	12 6	21 6
Deductions	19	12 10	21 4	12 6	5* 6	21 6
Lords of signs	♀	♂	♃	♄	♄	♃
Their enemies	♃	☊ ♄	♀	☊ ♂ ☉	☊ ♂ ☉	♀

The deductions are in almost all cases the same as the *daśās*, and in most cases the planets are the enemies of the lords of the corresponding signs. The exceptions are marked with asterisks, and of these the most notable is Venus, placed as the enemy of its own domicile. The Sun as enemy of Jupiter also seems to be a mistake. Rāhu as enemy of Mars and Saturn may be justified on the ground that it is also a malefic planet, but Marshall's other notes speak of Rāhu as the enemy of the Sun and Moon only (see Note F).

In § 52 the deduction to be made for Rāhu is obtained by multiplying the distance (in signs) of the particular sign from the domicile of Rāhu (♍) by 3 ;[1] and to this is added the value for Saturn given in § 51 ; the sum is deducted from 4 times the circumference of the head ! The first part of the rule is also given in § 48.

[1] This rule gives results that differ from the table above (§ 54).

M. PERIOD OF LIFE

Besides the rules referred to in note L, which deals with *Daśās*, Marshall gives certain other rules which are supposed to determine the length of a person's life. In § 64 the rule is

$$\text{Age} = 15N \times 108 \div 60,$$

where N is a quarter of a nakshatra (*i.e.* N is a *navāmśa*) in which the party was born, 108 is the maximum age, and 60 is the time in *ghatīs* the Moon is supposed to take to traverse a nakshatra. In §§ 70 and 80 the same rule is given in the form

$$\text{Age} = ghat\bar{i}s \times 108 \div 60,$$

where the number of *ghatīs* indicates the Moon's position in the nakshatra.[1] Here we have an example of a subdivision of the circle of the heaven playing the part of the whole.

In § 81 the sign of the ascendant and the planets in that sign, and the signs of the IVth, VIIth, Xth, Vth and IXth houses are evaluated according to their positions, the sum of these values is multiplied by 108 and divided by 60, and the result is the required age. The example given is : Libra is in the ascendant and so are the planets Jupiter and the Sun. The solution is

♎	♑	♈	♋	♒	♊	☉	♃	
7	10	1	4	11	3	1	5	Total 42,

and $42 \times 108 \div 60 = 75\frac{3}{5}$; but an alternative answer is given, namely, $42 \times 12 \div 10 = 50{\cdot}4$.[2] The signs, it will be seen, take their values according to their natural order, and the planets according to the week-day order.

In § 98 is an example of another kind, of the same nature as those treated by Varāha Mihira in the *Brihat Jataka*, chapter vi.

N. THE NAMING CEREMONY

Among the Hindus it is the custom, when naming a child, to give it, besides the common name, a secret name that is usually formed from that of the natal nakshatra. For example, the name *Rauhina* is formed from the asterism *Rohini*[3] Marshall exhibits two schemes of this nature, one applied to the signs and the other to the nakshatras (§§ 1, 5). In connection with the former scheme he says, " To every one of these constellations belong 2 syllables, by which the Hindoos know what house predominates over a man, or of what house hee is of " ; while with reference to the latter he writes, " To every one of these

[1] Compare Varāha Mihira, *BJ*, vii. 10.

[2] Should not this be $42 \times 120 \div 60 = 84$?

[3] L. D. Barnett, *Ant. of India*, p. 139.

Nachutturs belong 4 Monasyllibles, according to the sounds of which they give their names to the children." The two schemes are as follows:

SYLLABLES ALLOTTED TO THE SIGNS

Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer	Leo	Virgo
dal-la	*Oo-bc*	*Coas-sah*	*Dah-ha*	*Mautta*	*Pottee*
Libra	Scorpio	Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces
Rat-ta	*Noojah*	*Dowpau*	*Cogha*	*Gussa*	*Do-sa*

Marshall's transliteration makes it very difficult to tell what were the original syllables, but the next list is so much fuller that it is, at least, possible partially to systematise the spelling:

SYLLABLES ALLOTTED TO THE NAKSHATRAS

3	a	i	u	e	17	na	ni	nu	ne
4	o	ba	bi	bu	18	no	ja	ji	ju
5	be	be	ka	ki	19	je	jo	ba [1]	bi [1]
6	ku	GA	HU	CHA	20	bu	DA	PA	HA
7	ke	ko	ha	hi	21	be	bo	ja	ji
8	hu	he	ho	da	22	ju	je	jo	ka
9	di	du	de	do	23	ko	ki	ku	ke
10	ma	mi	mu	me	24	ga	gi	gu	ge
11	mo	ta	ti	tu	25	go	sa	si	su
12	te	to	pa	pi	26	se	so	do	di
13	pu	KO	NO	TA	27	du	TO	JI	GI
14	pe	po	ra	ri	28	de	do	cha	chi
15	ru	re	ro [1]	ta	1	chu	che	cho	la
16	ti	tu	te	to	2	li	lu	le	lo

This rearrangement of the list shows, to some extent, how it was built up. There are five vowels which occur independently once, and attached in turn to each of 19 consonants, and thus $5+5\times19=100$ syllables are accounted for. The remaining 12 places are filled up by what may be tentatively termed odd syllables, placed symmetrically (and indicated by capital letters in the above table). Although the table has now been made a symmetrical one, Marshall's transliterations still disguise the scheme, and there is still doubt as to the original consonants. The 19 consonants and 5 vowels suggests a western alphabet, and so, perhaps, does the sign scheme, but the suggestion is, at least, of doubtful value.[2] There is obviously some connection between the sign syllables and the nakshatra syllables, but there

[1] There appear to be mistakes at these places in the MS.

[2] The *Mathematic of Alhandrus* (tenth century) explains how to determine under which *manzil* (*nakshatra*) any one was born by a numerical calculation of the value of his name. Thorndyke, *Hist. Magic and Exp Science*, i. 713.

is difficulty in coordinating the scale of signs with 28 nakshatras. The table that follows does, however, show a real connection between the two schemes.

Signs.	Letters.	Nakshatras.	Letters.
♈	d-l	28-2	d-l
♉	u-b	3-5	u-b
♊	k-s	5-7	k-k
♋	d-h	7-9	h-d
♌	m-t	10-12	m-t
♍	p-t	12-14	t-p
♎	r-t	14-16	r-t
♏	n-j	17-19	n-j
♐	d-p	19-21	b-p
♑	k-gh	21-23	j-k
♒	g-s	24-26	g-s
♓	d-s	26-28	s-d

O. THE CALENDAR, ETC.

In § 88 extracts from an Indian almanack are given, and in other places a certain amount of information connected with the calendar is given. Various eras are correctly equated as follows:

A.D.	Year of Aurangzeb.	Vikrama.	Saka.	Kali.	Age of the world in 1670.
1672	15th	1729	1594	4773	3,892,771

The last value is obtained by adding together the periods for the *Krita*, *Treta*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* (expired) yugas (see § 108).

The year is said to begin on 4th March, 167½;[1] and 1st January, 167½, is equated with "19th Rowson" (*Ramazān*, but it should be 11th).

The length of the year is given as 360 days (but these are *saura* days); as 372 days, on the ground "always in 2½ yeares they ad one month beeing 30 dayes" (§§ 111 and 114); and ordinarily 365 days (§ 111). These statements about length of the year may be taken as a measure of Marshall's comprehension of Hindu astronomy;[2] and his remark on the *tithi* (§ 93) are of the same type. See note to § 111

The month is counted from full Moon to full Moon and is therefore *Pūrnimānta* (§ 88); but it is explained in § 113 that the Hindus have four kinds of months, namely (1) full Moon to full

[1] In the *amānta* system the lunar year began on 19th March, 167½; but in the *pūrnimānta* system the new year may be counted from the previous full moon, which took place (with an eclipse) on the evening of 3rd March.

[2] For an account of the length of the Hindu year see *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 60 *sqq.*; Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, p. 6 *sqq.*, etc.

Moon, (2) new Moon to new Moon, (3) first quarter to first quarter, (4) the Sun's time in a sign. The third kind, which Marshall calls 'Omnoos," is not known to me. The Sanskrit (§ 83), Arabic (§ 112) and Persian (§ 112) names of the months are given. See Note S.

The positions of the planets on the 1st and 4th January, 167½, together with their daily motion are given in § 11 and § 55 :

	Daily motions.	Periods.	Longitudes on 1st Jan., 167½	Longitudes on 4th Jan., 167½.	Pillai's tables for 4th Jan., 167½.
			° ′ ″ ‴	° ′ ″	° ′
Saturn -	120″	30 years	328 23 0 0	328 54 0	325 24
Jupiter -	259″	12 ,,	133 15 11 18	135 0 0	148 52
Mars -	1200″	1½ ,,	257 10 0 0	260 0 0	220 42
Sun -	3600″	1 ,,	272 0 0 0	276 0 0	275 12
Venus -	3600″	1 ,,	256 0 0 0	260 0 0	—
Mercury -	4500″	7·2 months	268 15 0 0	275 0 0	288 18
Moon -	47400″	27 days	43 20 0 0	90 0 0	—
Ascending node -	160″	18 years	330 1 5 0	358 36 40	344 12

The "daily motions" are for *Saura* days, and should be multiplied by 0·9856 to reduce them to civil days. The periods are rough approximations only. In order to make them equivalent to European longitudes, 18·5 degrees should be added to Indian longitudes of A.D. 1672.

On the first of *Vaisākha* the Sun enters Aries (§ 83). The shortest day is when the Sun enters Capricorn, and the longest when it enters Cancer; and the equinoxes occur when the Sun is in the 13th degree of Pisces and Virgo (§ 79). A rule is given for determining the length of the day, which goes back to the time of the *Jyotisha Vedānga* (see *Hindu Astron.* p. 81). This rule may be expressed by

$$\text{length of day} = (255 + \tfrac{1}{2}(180 - n)) \div 10 \text{ } ghatis$$
$$= 25\tfrac{1}{2} + (180 - n) \div 20 \text{ } ghat\bar{\imath}s,$$

where 25½ *ghatis* is the length of the shortest day : n the number of days counting from a solstice, and $\frac{1}{20}$ *ghatī* or 3 *palas* is the daily change in the length of the day.[1] An example finds the length of the equinoctial days thus .

$$(255 + \tfrac{1}{2}(180 - (73 + 17))) \div 10 = 30 \text{ } ghatis,$$

where the 17 is added to correct the displacement of the equinoxes.

[1] This value, 3 *palas*, is given in the *Paitāmaha Siddhānta*. The rule applies, roughly, to a latitude of about 28½ degrees

P. THE TIME OF THE DAY

In § 125 is a description of a Hindu clepsydra,[1] and in the same paragraph, and also in paragraphs 116, 120, 121 and 122, are rules for calculating the time of the day by the shadow. These rules are :

§ 122 - - -	$t = 120 \div (\text{shadow} + 6)$
§ 116 - - -	$t = 144 \div (\text{shadow} + 7)$
§ 120 - - -	$t = 144 \div (\text{shadow} + 7)$
§ 121 - - -	$t = 20 - \text{shadow}.$

The first three are of the type of rule given by Mahâvîra (*Ganita-sâra-samgraha*, ix. 8) and others, which may be expressed by $t = 30g \div 2(g+s)$, where g is the height of the gnomon.

In § 121 $g+s$ is constant and $t = g$. In § 119 Marshall gives a method of finding the time by finger divination.

Q. CALCULATIONS

Marshall's calculations may be divided into two classes, namely, those that are based upon or connected with some astronomical principle, and those that are connected with no scientific principle whatever. In no case is a calculation given by Marshall a perfectly sound one ; usually the data are defective, and the result either a rough approximation or altogether inaccurate. Examples have already been given in notes H, J, L, M, O, P.

(*a*) *To find the Moon's nakshatra.* The rule given in § 83 may be expressed by

$$\textit{Increase in Longitude of Moon} = (2M + D)\ 13\tfrac{1}{3}\ \textit{degrees},$$

where M is the number of the current month counting from *Kārtikka*, and D is the number of the current day counting from full Moon. As an example illustrating the rule, the 12th day from full Moon in *Phālguna* is said to give $(2 \times 5 + 12)$ *nakshatras*, *i.e.* the Moon is in the 22nd nakshatra

The rule seems to have been evolved thus: In a civil day the Moon moves through ·988 *nakshatras*, and in a synodic month through 29·1815 *nakshatras* approximately. The increase in longitude in M months and D days is therefore

$$M\ (29 \cdot 1815) + D\ (\cdot 988)\ \textit{nakshatras}\ \text{approximately}.$$

For whole *nakshatras* $M\,29 + D \equiv M2 + D \bmod 27$ is a rough solution.

(*b*) The same rule is given in § 90 for the purpose of determining " what Gurry it (the Moon) leaves the Nachetter," with the same example and the same answer, namely, " that the

[1] See *Hind. Astron.* p. 67.

22nd Gurry from Sunrise the Moon left that Nachuttur." The same principle as in the previous rule is here involved; but the constants should be different.

(*c*) In § 85 certain names are allotted to the days and nights of the week, but most of these names are unrecognisable. In § 85 (*a*) is a rule for determining which of these names is that of the dominant of the day or night. The rule may be expressed by $2M+T+D \equiv x \bmod 7$,[1] where M is the month counted from *Chaitra*, T is the "age of the Moon," and D is the number of the day of the week. For *Chaitra* 10th Wednesday Marshall gets $2\times 1+(10+15)+4\equiv 3 \bmod 7$.[2] This gives the dominant of the day, but for night time the month is to be counted from *Bhādra-pada*.

(*d*) A rule to determine the planet ruling the nakshatra is given in § 39, but it is obviously defective, even according to Marshall's standard. As far as understood it can be expressed by

$$4S+D\equiv x \bmod 9,$$

where S is the distance in signs between the natal sign and the sign of the Moon, D the day of the week, and 9 is the number of planets in the following order: ☉, ☾, ♂, ☿, ♃, ♀, ♄, ☊, ☋.

(*e*) In §§ 34 and 75 is the following rule,

$$S_n+S_p\equiv x \bmod 3,$$

where S_n is the natal house (sign), and S_p is the house (sign) of the planet. According as $x=0$, 1 or 2 the influence of the planet is modified.[3]

(*f*) In § 68 we have $S+9+D\equiv x \bmod 6$, where S is "the shadow" expressed in feet, and D is the number of days since full Moon. If x be odd then the man on the right will be victorious. See also § 97.

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[1] The *Kālaprakāsika* gives a similar rule, namely, "Count the nakshatras from the *Janma nakshatra* (*i.e.* the Moon's nakshatra at birth) to the ruling nakshatra of the day, and add the number denoted by the ruling tithi, and also that denoted by the day of the week. and the number of the rising sign counted from Aries; and divide the total by eight."

[2] Presumably the 15 is added because T is counted from full moon instead of new moon.

[3] Similar rules are given in ch. xxxix. of the *Kālaprakāsikā*.

R. THE DIVISIONS OF THE DAY

The measures of the day given in §§ 58, 111, 117, 122 are shown in the following table:

	Bepull (Vipala).	Saut (Prāna).	Pull (Pala).	Gurry (Ghati).	Day.
Vipala	1	—	—	—	—
Prāna	10	1	—	—	—
Pala	60	6	1	—	—
Ghatī	3600	360	60	1	—
Day	216000	21600	3600	60	1

The above measures are normal. In § 58 it is stated that 4 " Joojons " make one Pull, *i.e.* one " Joojon " equals 6 seconds; and in § 115 " some say that 4 Pollucks make one Bepull (Vipala)," but in § 24 a " polluck " seems to be the same as a *pala*; and § 14 gives 4 " pollucks " = 1 *ghatī*. The day and night are each divided into four " Purrs " (*prahara*, a watch), which vary in length throughout the year (§ 122). In § 6, however, the *prahara* seems to be considered as a fixed quantity.

S. TERMINOLOGY

The following lists should enable the reader to find the equivalents of most of the technical terms used in the text, but Marshall seldom spells an Indian term twice in the same way.

(a) Signs.

MS.	*Sanskrit.*	*MS*	*Sanskrit.*
♈ Meas	Mesha	♎ Tulla	Tulā
♉ Bris	Vrisha	♏ Bissea	Vrischika
♊ Mettun	Mithuna	♐ Downe	Dhanus
♋ Corcut	Karkata	♑ Muckur	Makara
♌ Sing	Simha	♒ Cumb	Kumbha
♍ Cunne	Kanyā	♓ Min	Mina

(b) Planets.

MS.	*MS.*
♄ Saturn	☿ Mercury
♃ Jupiter	☾ Moon
♂ Mars	☊ Dragon's Head, or *Rāhu*
☉ Sun	☋ Dragon's Tail, or *Ketu*
♀ Venus	

(c) NAKSHATRAS.

MS.	Sanskrit.	MS.	Sanskrit.
1. Assonee	Aśvinī	16. Bissauka	Viśākhā
2. Burrom	Bharani	17. Unrada	Anruādhā
3. Kirtigar	Krittikā	18. Gesta	Jyeshthā
4. Rohonee	Rohinī	19 Mulla	Mūla
5. Mergusshera	Mrigaśira	20. Poorbokar	Pūrva-Ashādhā
6. Addrah	Ārdrā		
7. Ponorbosho	Punarvasu	21. Uttara	Uttara-Ashādhā
8. Pussha	Pushya		
9. Osshela	Āśleshā	22. Srawonoh	Śravana
10. Mogga	Maghā	23. Donista	Dhanishthā
11. Purbulgoni	Pūrva-Phalgunī	24. Suttawick	Satatārakā
		25. Poorbawdra	Pūrva-Bhadrapadā
12 Utturpulgoni	Uttara-Phalguni		
		26. Utterbawda	Uttara-Bhadrapadā
13. Husta	Hasta		
14. Chuttree	Chitrā	27. Rebutee	Revatī
15. Swatty	Svāti		

(d) YOGAS.

MS.	Sanskrit.	MS.	Sanskrit.
1. Becombe	Vishkambha	15. Buderah	Vadra
2 Preet	Prīti	16. Siddee	Siddhi
3 Jivoconon	Jīvaka *	17. Billeepaut	Vyatīpata
4. Sowbaug	Saubhāgya	18. Burreaum	Variyas
5. Sobun	Sobhana	19. Purregur	Parigha
6. Etgund	Atiganda	20. Sea	Śiva
7. Saecormaw	Sukarman	21. Sid	Siddha
8. Dreet	Dhriti	22. Saud	Śādhya
9. Sool	Śūla	23. Sub	Śubha
10. Gund	Ganda	24. Sookul	Sukla
11. Breed	Vriddhi	25. Burmah	Brahman
12. Durbea	Dhruva	26. Indreo	Indra [1]
13 Ghaut	Vyāghāta	27. By Dreet	Vaidhriti
14. Hercon	Harshana		

* Jīvaka = Āyushmat

(e) HINDU MONTHS.

MS.	Sanskrit.	MS.	Sanskrit.
1 Cawteck	Kārtikkā	7. Bysauk	Vaisākha
2. Aggon	Margaśīrsha [Āghrān]	8. Jeat	Jyeshtha
		9. Aggot	Āshādha
3. Poos	Pausha	10 Sowun	Srāvana
4. Maug	Māgha	11. Bawdoo	Bhādrapada
5. Pawgoon	Phālguna	12. Assin	Āśvina
6. Coheit	Chaitra		

(*f*) MUHAMMADAN MONTHS.

MS.	*Arabic.*	*MS.*	*Persian.*
1. Mohorrum	Muharram	1. Forwardee	Farvardīn
2. Suffar	Safar	2. Ardebehist	Ardabahasht
3. Rabbenewdull	Rabī'al awwal	3. Chordaud	Khordād
4. Rabbesouned	Rabī'al sānī	4. Teer	Tīr
5. Jemelowull	Jamādī al-awwal	5. Merdaud	Mordād
		6. Sharrowar	Shahrīvar
6. Jemedusenne	Jamādī al-sānī	7. Meehr	Mihr
7. Rodjab	Rajab	8. Awboh	Ābān
8. Shawbawne	Sha'bān	9. Auzor	Āzar
9. Rowson	Ramazān	10. Dy	Dae
10. Shavwall	Shawwāl	11. Bawmun	Bahman
11. Judcawd	Zī qād	12. Jefindar	Asfendārmad
12. Julleedge	Zi'l hijja [Zīlhij]		

The following notes are supplementary to those already given. They follow the text as printed, section by section.

1. The names of the signs here given (see note S (*a*)) are not used in any other place in the MS The signs are generally indicated by the usual symbols The syllables attached to the signs are dealt with in note N. A note on *Nilcunt* is given on p. 317.

2. The nakshatras are dealt with in note J, and a list of them is given in note S (*c*). The nakshatras as wives of the Moon is an ancient tradition (see *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 106)

3. The list of nakshatras here again given is really the same as that in § 2. The equation is $2\frac{1}{4}$ *nakshatras* = 1 *sign* (not house). For meanings of " Burge " and " Ross " see note D.

4. See note J. By " house " sign is meant. See also § 6.

5. " Other Manuscripts " The reference is to § 2. " Churn " = Sk. *charana*, " a quarter." See note N on naming the child, etc.

6. The equation between the signs and nakshatras is also given in §§ 3 and 4. See note J. The length of the sidereal month here given (27 days) is, of course, only an approximation. The Hindus had, from early days, very accurate values of the commoner astronomical elements. A " pur " (Sk. *prahara*, a watch) is ordinarily of variable length, there being 8 in a day of 24 hours. See § 122 and note R. The extra nakshatra is *Abhijit*, which comes between *Ashādhā* and *Sravana*. See note J and the list in note S (*c*).

7. The seventh house is concerned with marriage. See note E, and §§ 12, 24, 32, 33, 67, 72.

8. This list of good nakshatras does not agree very well with other statements. See §§ 15, 40, 49 and 91, and note J.

9. See notes B and I. Marshall's difficulty is probably the result of his using the symbol of signs for houses.

10. See §§ 37, 44 and 54, and note F. Marshall does not appear to be quite consistent on the topic of hostile planets See note to § 54.

11. The places of the planets are also given for the 1st January, 167½, in § 55, and the two statements are compared in note O. There is obviously here no pretension to great accuracy either in the places of the planets or their periods. Job Charnock's scheme cannot apply to the same time as that of the Brahman's

12. See notes D and G for the definition of "Ross." The table should probably be read as applying to houses and not signs. When the planet is in the same house as the Moon at birth the effects are given in the first row, when it is in the next house from the Moon in the second row, and so on. Each row is generally concerned with those topics connected with the particular house as given in note E, etc. Beyond this the table does not lend itself to simple analysis. But see note F.

13. The references are to §§ 5 and 8. See note E The same subject is dealt with more fully in § 23. The sixth house is the house of "bad fortune" or "sickness," and the twelfth is also a house of "bad fortune" or "enmity," in certain western schemes.

14. This is an incomplete list of domiciles and exaltations. See the table in note C. Read "♀ friend to ♎." See §§ 24 and 50.

15 This table is explained, as far as it is possible, in note J (*a*).

16. See note C, on signs. The classification appears to be based upon the assumption that the domiciles of the malefic planets (♄, ♂, ☉) are "bad," but this does not account for ♓ being bad. However, to Marshall ♓ is equivalent to the twelfth house, which is unlucky in most schemes.

17. See note F, and note to § 72 (a).

18. That is, when all the planets are in "exaltation" (a very rare occurrence !). See note F. The orthodox Hindu rule is "A king is born when three or more planets are in their exalted houses." See Varāha Mihira, *Brihaj-jātaka*, xi.

19. "Colljoog" = *kali yuga* ; "Bahutter" = ?.

20. "Burmere" = *Brahman* ; "Lunka" = *Lankā* , "Hordowar" = *Hardwar* ; perhaps "Byas" = *Maya*. For the tradition compare with *Sūrya Siddhānta*, i. 10.

21. This is supplemented in § 66. See note I on "Aspects."

22. These diagrams are only fanciful variations of that in § 8, or rather of that given in note B, and have no special value.

23. See § 13, and notes E and F.

24. See note G I cannot discover the process by which the figures in column 1 are arrived at. The total is nearly 34 days, but there is at least one mistake, for, according to the text, 5 pollucks should be 50 pollucks. The entries under ☉ and ☾ are largely concerned with topics connected with the houses See also the note to § 12.

25. The table of "lords" of signs at the bottom is orthodox. These are the domiciles of the planets, or the signs (not houses) ruled by the planets. See notes D and F.

26. This table, which is hardly intelligible, is discussed in note H. The number of stars allotted to each sign has, apparently, no astrological signification.

27. See also §§ 29, 30, 45, 51, 54, 74. The subject of *Daśās* or *planetary periods* is dealt with in note L. The division of the year into 360 parts does not imply a year of 360 days. See *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 57.

28. The list of planetary colours is orthodox. See note F.

29-30. Continuation of § 27. See note L.

31. (*a*) The influence of the planets on meteorology is a very old theme. The basis of the rules is, in western astrology, the following classification of the planets :

SATURN - - -	Cold and dry.
JUPITER - -	Warm and humid.
MARS - - -	Hot and dry.
SUN - - -	Hot.
VENUS - - -	Cold and humid.
MERCURY - -	Indifferent.
MOON - -	Humid.

(*b*) Compare with § 23. All three of the planets are malefic, and ☊ is particularly concerned with fighting (§ 17).

32. (*a*) Marshall recurs to this theme on several occasions. See §§ 7, 67. The seventh house represents "marriage" in all schemes.

33. The table connects planets and houses (not signs). It is discussed in note G. Except under ♄, where topics peculiar to houses V, VII, IX and X are mentioned, the table classifies the effects simply as "good," "bad" or "medium." Numbers XII and VIII are thoroughly "bad," and numbers I and IV come

next in order of "badness." The order of "goodness" is XI, X, VII, VI, III.

34. The rule is given in note Q (*e*). Similar rules are given in the *Kālaprakāsikā*.

35. The Moon's modifying influence on malefic planets is orthodox. The application of the *Antardasās* (see note L) to general astrological problems is in accordance with tradition.

36. The allotment of so many weapons to each planet appears to have no sanction, but see *Hindu Astron.* p. 112.

37. This is a list of planetary domiciles and of planets hostile to each other (see note F). See also §§ 10 and 54 for hostile planets, and §§ 14, 24, 25, 48 and 50 for domiciles. Rāhu, ☊, is mentioned in §§ 10, 48 and 50.

38. The rule is dealt with in note H. It occurs also in § 69.

39. The phrase "9th nachutter from ♈ or 8th from ♉" is meaningless, and possibly should read "9th Ross from ♈ &c." Apart from this there is so much ambiguity about the data that little can be made of the rule. See note Q (*d*)

40. See note J (*a*). This list of bad nakshatras is subordinated to the rule in § 39.

41. The information here given may be compared with that given in §§ 12 and 62. The planets mentioned are all malefics. The reference is to § 38. See note H.

42. This is not properly astrological but is akin to the system of *Gematria*. See note Q, and for other similar rules see §§ 34, 35, 68. Similar rules are found in patristic writings, etc.

43-44. See note H.

45. This appears to sum up the salient points already discussed, but it is not very illuminating.

46. See note E.

47. See note C. The signs are here quite orthodoxly arranged in trigons or triplicities.

Trigons.			Elements.
1. ♈	5. ♌	9. ♐	Fire.
2. ♉	6. ♍	10. ♑	Earth.
3. ♊	7. ♎	11. ♒	Air.
4. ♋	8. ♏	12. ♓	Water.

48. (Rāhu) ☊ is said to be lord of Virgo—on what authority is not known. The rule is dealt with in note L; it is given again in § 52.

49. See note J, which gives some explanation of this table. Presumably the *ghatīs* refer to the time the Moon spends in each nakshatra, which is supposed to be uniformly equal to 60 *ghatīs* (24 hours). The notion that a single nakshatra (or other division of the ecliptic) could, in a minor degree, possess the astrological characteristics of the whole circle was not unknown in the West. See also §§ 64 and 76, and note M.

50. This is the normal table of domiciles of the planets, also in § 48 is added ☊ as lord of ♍. See notes C and F.

51. See note L.

52. The part of this rule that assumes that a person's age depends upon the size of his head is repeated in § 54, and the remaining part in § 48.

54. See note L, and for the head measurement rule see also § 52. Incidentally a table of hostile planets is given; but Venus as its own enemy is surely a mistake, and ☊ as the enemy of the lords of ♈ and ♑ (*i.e.* of ♂ and ♄) is not given elsewhere, although perhaps justifiable.

55-56 The places of the planets are dealt with in note O, and also § 11. The pretence at extreme accuracy in the case of Jupiter is curious. In note O the positions of the planets are compared with those given in L. D. S. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

57. See note L, and also § 59. Possibly the "Lord of the year following" is only *ad hoc*. The ordinary lord of the year is determined quite differently

58. The term "joojon" ($=\frac{1}{4}$ *pala* $=6$ seconds) is doubtful. The reference to the motion of the Sun is not understood, but according to Indian tradition the mean daily motion of the Sun is 1200 *yojanas*. Generally "course" stands for *Kos* (Sk. *krośa*), which equals about $2\frac{1}{8}$ miles.

59. See note L, and § 57.

60. See notes D and K. Perhaps "Burge" is for *varga*.

61. See note B. The real object of this table is the determination of the longitudes of the ascendant (*lagna*) and the other cusps. The figures given indicate the periods of rising of the signs for a latitude of about 24 degrees.

62. Compare with § 12, and see note G. It will be observed that §§ 12 and 62 are practically the same, but it appears that § 12 is for use with the "Ross" (? the Moon's sign at birth), and § 62 with the Burge (? the sign of the Ascendant). In both cases the powers of "houses" are employed, *e.g.* (i) Sickness, (ii)

Riches, (iii) Brothers, (iv) Parents, etc., etc. See note E. Here, as in § 33, etc., the " best " houses are XI, X, etc.

63. This seems to imply that they rejected such innovations as the lunar horoscope. See note D.

64. See note M, and §§ 70 and 80, where the rule is repeated in a slightly different form.

65. See note E. In classical astrology the Sun and Mercury are rather indifferent, and partake of the nature of the planets they are associated with. This is exemplified for Mercury in § 23.

66. See note I.

67. For the connection between the seventh house and " marriage " see note E, and §§ 7, 32.
The Moon and Venus, being female [1] and humid planets, are said to be favourable to marriage, and so, to some extent, is Jupiter (also humid). Mercury is generally considered indifferent. See § 31.

68. See note Q (*j*). The shadow as an instrument of magic is not unknown, but its combination with the age of the Moon is curious.

69. The same rule is given in § 38. See note H.

70. See §§ 64 and 80, and notes L and M. The numbers attached to the planets are the *daśās*.

71. The statement seems to imply that about one-third of the population die in foreign countries ! Possibly it is an echo of the ancient rule which makes the planets in the *apoklimata* (cadent houses) influence journeying.

72. (*a*) The application of astrology to journeys and voyages receives special treatment in many Hindu works on astrology, from the time of Varāha Mihira onwards. In classical western astrology the Sun, and, more particularly, the Moon in the *apoklimata* (houses III, VI, IX, XI), and above all in the seventh house, foretell frequent voyages. In Marshall's notes the only planet governing travel is said to be Venus (§ 17) ; but the malefic planets (♄, ♂, ☉, ☊) induce travel in certain positions ; *e.g.* the Sun in houses V, IX and XII ; Rāhu in III, VIII, X ; Mars in I ; and Saturn in XI. Also those born in II, VI, VIII or X will die in foreign countries. The houses (or signs, for Marshall makes no distinction) not concerned in travel are IV (♋) and VII (♎). See §§ 12, 17, 23, 24, 27, 71.

(*b*) Most of these statements are applications of the theory of aspects, and may be read thus :

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[1] In India both Venus and the Moon are, as deities, males. See *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 111.

Planets - - -	—	♄	M	☋	—
in Houses - - from - - -	II —	III ♂	IV ☾	V ♃	VI —
will cause death of	—	Brothers & sisters	Mother	Children	—

Planets - - -	☋	☉	♄	♄	—	—
in Houses - - from - - -	VII ♀	VIII ♄	IX Asc.	X ☉	XI —	XII —
will cause death of	(Wife)	Native	Uncle	Father	—	—

It will be noted that houses II, VI, XI and XII here have no aspects (see note I); also that the entries in the bottom row generally correspond to those in the table of houses in note E. The entry placed within brackets is not a case of death, but may be read as unfavourable to the first wife! In the top row 'M' stands for "any malefic planet."

73. In note E it is explained that the first column here exhibits the signs of *exaltation*, that is the signs in which the planets acquire their maximum power. The second column, however, is not the usual list of *depressions* (signs opposite to the corresponding exaltations) but is a list of domiciles of hostile planets (Taurus as the depression of Mars being an exception, or error).

74. See note L.

75. See note Q (*e*).

76. See note E.

77. See note J

78. The rule is of little value, but is of some interest. The events foretold or the answers to questions are to have effect after periods which are multiples of the house numbers, thus:

Houses - -	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Multiples - -	1	3	3	1	2	3
Periods - -	1	6	9	4	10	18
Houses - -	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Multiples - -	1	3	3	1	3	3
Periods -	7	24	27	10	33	36

See note E, and also § 91.

79. See note O.

80. See §§ 64, 70, and note M.

81. See note M. Of the data in the example "☊ in ♊" appears to be ignored in the solution. See also § 77.

82. For the Yogas see notes J (*b*) and S (*d*). The Pythagorean sum 27+27+6=60 is rather forced. The Hindus do not usually speak of six planets.

83. See note Q (*a*) for the rule, and note S (*e*) for the list of months; and, for the remark about the vernal equinox, note O.

84. See note J (*b*).

85. So far most of the names have not been identified. Numbers 4, 5 and 6 in the second column appear to be three consecutive names of the Brihaspati cycle, namely *Nandana*, *Vijaya* and *Jaya*. From the example that follows it appears that the list gives the names of the lords of the days and nights of the week. See note Q (*c*).

86. Not understood. The only figures used are 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, which are in arithmetical progression. If the signs be arranged in order as domiciles of the planets some system is apparent. Thus:

Planets.	Domiciles.	Each gets.	spends.
♄	♑ ♒	14	11
♃	♐ ♓	11	5
♂	♈ ♍	8	14
♀	♉ ♎	2	8
☿	♊ ♏	5	2
☉	♌	2	11
☾	♋	14	2

It is possible that the "11" under ♌ is Marshall's mistake for "14."

87. The Moon's ascending and descending nodes (*Caput Draconis* and *Cauda Draconis*) are not mentioned by their Hindu names (*Rāhu* and *Ketu*) by Marshall. Ptolemy ignored these fictitious planets, but Tertullian speaks of their astrological influence. In Hindu astrology they are not quite firmly established. Neither of them is classed as a planet by Varāha Mihira in his *Brihaj Jātaka*, but both are called planets in his *Brihat Samhitā* and also in the *Yājñavalkyasmriti*. Marshall occasionally introduces ☊ (*Rāhu*) but ☋ (*Ketu*) only once. In Hindu planetary worship, however, both of them occur, and nearly always are given in the sets of planetary figures. See *JASB*. vol xvi. plates vii.-xii.

88. See note O for the astronomical details of this almanack.

See also Sewell and Dikshit's *The Indian Calendar*, pp. 14 and 15, for an extract from a *Pañchānga*. See also §§ 110 and 111.

The lord of the year is generally the lord of the first day of the year, but Mars does not seem to fit in with Marshall's data. See note O. However, 19th March, 167½, the first day of the lunar year, was a Tuesday. The prognostics for a year ruled by Mars are given in the *Brihat Samhitā* (xix 7-9), but they do not agree very well with our text. According to the *Kālaprakāśikā* the lord of the day on which the Sun enters Aries is the lord of the year, the lord of the day on which the Sun enters Taurus is the *Dīwān*; the lord of the day on which it enters Sagittarius is the lord of corn, etc.

The objects to be sacrificed to mitigate sickness connected with the nakshatras may be compared with a similar list for planets in § 28; and also with the list of objects allotted to the asterisms in the *Brihat Samhitā* (xv).

"Oramshawe" = *Aurangshāh*, *i.e.* Aurangzeb.

"Beecremodgit" = *Vikramāditya*. "Sicca" = *Śaka*.

90. See note Q (*b*).

91. See also § 80. The fatal nakshatras in § 91 are numbers 2, 5, 10, 13, 19, 25. Compare with lists in §§ 15, 40, 49, and see note J (*a*) The rule is similar to that in § 78.

92. "Crisson Putch" = *Krishna paksha*; "Soocol Putch" = *Śukla paksha*.

93. "Tect" = *tithi*. A *tithi* is the time during which the Moon increases her distance from the Sun by 12 degrees. It varies in length by about two hours, and there are 360 *tithis* to 354 civil days approximately; therefore a *tithi* may begin and end on the same day, or it may occupy the whole of one day and parts of two others. A *tithi* on which the Sun does not rise is expunged, and a *tithi* on which the Sun rises twice is repeated (hence Marshall's note). Generally there are 13 omitted and 7 added *tithis* in a year (Sewell and Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*, pp. 3, 18). The *tithi* which ends at the moment of full Moon is termed *purnimā*. Sometimes the last *tithi* is called by the name of the month of which it marks the end, and sometimes by the name of the following month. See also § 111 and the note thereon.

94. See note F. Marshall's remark is explained by the following comparison:

Planets -	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☾
Directions— Marshall -	W.	N.	S.	E.	E.	S.	W
Brihaj-Jātaka, ii. 5	W.	N.E.	S.	E.	S E.	N.	N.W.

95. See §§ 1 and 5, and note N.

96. This is not astrological, but in early times chiromancers allotted to the planets certain parts of the hand, *e.g.* to Saturn the little finger (4th), to the Sun the ring finger (3rd), to Mercury the middle finger (2nd), and to Mars the index finger (1st) (A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrologie grecque*, p. 313).

97. Another example of the magic shadow. See note Q (*f*).

98. The data are ambiguous, but this rule, at least, suggests the *Locus fortunae* of Western astrologers or the *aphetic* places of Ptolemy (the *hyleg* of the Arabs). It would be out of place here to attempt to explain these theories, on which few authorities agree. Briefly, the place of fortune is that distance from the ascendant that the Moon is from the Sun, or 360° less that distance. Ptolemy's aphetic places are the Ascendant, counting from 5 degrees above the horizon, the tenth, eleventh or ninth house. The significator is the Sun, Moon, the *Locus fortunae* or the Ascendant in an aphetic place; and the duration of life is equal to the number of degrees between the aphetic place and the MC (*i.e.* the hour angle of the significator).

99-101. These notes on meteorology call for little remark. "Metchlepatam" = Masulipatam, "Pattana" = Patna.

103. A simple trick of a well-known type, a variation of which was given by Bachet de Méziriac in 1612.

104. The rule may be represented by $(16n + nr) \div nr = 16/r + 1$, where n is the number of rupees and r the rate of interest in annas per rupee.

105. This problem occurs in Mahāvīra's *Sārasangraha*, vi. 289 and 328. If n be the number of outside arrows then, according to Mahāvīra, the total number is $((n+3)^2+3) \div 12$.

106-107. Trivial problems.

108. See note O.

109. "Berramogee" = Vikrama. A.D. 1671 = 1728 Vikramaera. The 360 days may be a reference to *saura* days. See *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 57.

110. See note O.
"Teetah" = *Treta*; "Doopor" = *Dvāpara*, "Coljoog" = *Kaliyuga*.

111. See notes O and R. The Hindus reckon in solar months varying in length from 29 d. 7 h. 38 m. to 31 d. 15 h. 28 m.; and in lunar months varying in length from 29 d. 7 h. 20 m. to 29 d 19 h. 30 m. Thus in a lunar month it will often happen that no solar month begins, and, more rarely, there will be two such

beginnings. In the former case a lunar month is added, and in the latter one is omitted. There are usually 7 intercalations in 19 years, while suppressions occur at intervals from 19 to 141 years (averaging about 1 in 60 years). See also § 93 and the note thereon. Marshall's calculation was $12 \times 30 + 30/2\frac{1}{2} = 372$. See *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, xii. 1.

112. See notes O and S. Apparently the date should be "11th day of Ramazān."

113. See note O. "Poor Massee" = *Purnamāsī*, the day of full Moon. "Chandraine" = *Chandra*, the Moon. "Sincrant" = *Saṃkrāmti*, junction, (Sun's) entrance into a sign of the zodiac.

114. "Burma" = Brahman; for "Polluck" see note R. The day of Brahman is variously given as 432×10^7 (*Sūrya Siddhānta*), 31104×10^8 (Albīrūnī), etc., etc. Marshall's value for 100 years of Brahman is $6237168000 = 37126 \times 168000$ years $= 37126$ days of Brahman.[1]

115. See note R.

116. See note P.

117. See note R.

118. See note O. For Hindu notions of precession see *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 64 *sqq.* A complete revolution in 36,000 years gives 36″ a year, which was Ptolemy's value.

119. See note to § 96.

120 and 121. See note P.

122. For a description of the Hindu clepsydra see *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 67; for the measures here given see note R; and for the rule note P. The statement that a 'pur' or *prahara* may be 9 *ghatis* does not quite agree with § 79, where the longest day is given as $34\frac{1}{2}$ *ghatis*, which makes one *prahara* $8\frac{5}{8}$ *ghatis*. At the equinoxes one *prahara* $= 7\frac{1}{2}$ *ghatis*. 'Gurrial,' a water-pot (Sk. *ghati*, hence the measure *ghati*)

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[1] Nilcunt Doctor is possibly Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Ananta and grandson of Chintamaṇi, who wrote, in A D 1587, an astronomy (*Tājika*) derived from Muhammadan sources, and, later, a set of rules for the guidance of fortune-tellers; or Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Govinda Sūri who attempted to reconcile the cosmical views of the *Purāṇas* with those in the *Sūryasiddhānta*. See J Eggeling's *Cat. San. MSS. in India Office*, Nos. 2885, 3045 and 3055.

X

HINDU MEDICINE

A. Medical Knowledge

1. BY, PIT, CUFF

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18.

(*a*) The Hindoos reckon upon 3 humors in mans body, *vizt.*, By [*bāī*, air], Pitt [*pit*, bile], Cuff [*kaf*, phlegm], which they know by the pulse upon the right hand, lying one finger neare the bottome of the thumb upon the pulse upon the wrist, and that is for Cuff; another finger by it nearer the arme and that is for Pitt; and another nearer the arme and that is for By. So that if the pulse under the last finger named beate high, then is the body full of By; if under the other, then of Pit, if under the other, then of Cuff. If all the 3 beat high, then is the body inclining to a fever; if low and even, then is little nature [vital power] in a man; if indifferent high and even, then in good health, if have good stomack [digestion].

When the By abounds, the Belly, Armes and Feet swell, and somtimes have paines in them. If Pit abounds, then the Belly, Armes, feet and eyes are hot, and a man is thirsty. If Cuff abounds, the boddy and limbs are weak and have no stomack, if any—ill digestion proceeds from it, also much sweat.

The By rules the body from 2 Gurries [*gharī*, an hour of 24 minutes] before Sunrise and rules till 1 Purr [*pahar*, watch of 8 *gharī*] 3 Gurries; then Pitt rules till night; then Cuff till By begins againe.

I have met with some Doctors who call that By which here above is called Cuff, and that Cuff which above is called By, so no certainty which is true.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 31a.

(*b*) The By is only Aire, which when a man takes in his breath, it runs into every veine of his body, causeth a man to be active, walk, &ca. [and other] actions. Pit, which is Fire, which digesteth victualls, &ca. And Cuff which is water or moisture. So that By, Pit, Cuff are only Water, Fire and Aire, of which the Hindoos say every man is constituted.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 21.

(*c*) Ditto [the Hindu book] saith That the 3 humers in mans body, *vizt.*, By, Pit, Cuff, are each predominant 4 months, *vizt.*, By in August, September, December and January; Pit in Aprill, May, October and November; and Cuff in February, March, June and July. When By is predominate, then Sower or bitter things are bad, and also when Pit is predominant; and when Cuff is predominant, then Sweet and Sower things are bad.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 9.

(*d*) If By predominates, it causeth heaviness and paines in the armes and joyntes.

If Pit, heat all over the body, and thirst.
If Cuff, then Sleepiness.
If By, and Pit, then paine in the head.
If By and Cuff, then paine in the Back.
If Pit and Cuff, then paine in the Loynes.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17.

(*e*) The Hindoos say there are 80 sorts of By, 44 of Pit, 22 of Cuff, that govern the body, and that the whole body is governed by 5 Rojas [*rājās*, rulers].

1[st] Rojas Kingdome is Pit of the Stomack or heart, where he is to contrive and consider and judge and exercise the reason; he hath 2 holes for vacuation, the 2 Eares.

2[nd] Rojahs Kingdome is bottome of the belly, where his business is to seperate the Chyle from [the] Dross, and his two holes for vacuation are the fundament and yard.

3[rd] Rojas Kingdome, the Navill, whose business is to draw downe victualls in the Stomack and to digest it; his two hole[s] for vacuation are the Nostrills.

4[th] Rojahs Kingdom, the Throat; his business to speak; his two holes, the mouth and top of the head.

5[th] Rojahs Kingdome, all over the Body; his business is to move the body; his holes the eyes.

2. BY OR WIND COLIQ

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 10a.

(*a*) To know whether a man be troubled with the Bay [*bāī*] or winds, or not. In the morning, if hee can at the same time when hee riseth touch his Navill and his Nose with his thumb and long finger of the same hand, then is hee free from it; but it must be very early.

Remedy: Take 7 or 8 Cloves every morning when rise and eat them; it is good against Bay.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13.

(*b*) For By, or Pitt, or Loosness. Take Haulin [*hālim*, pepper-wort], Holdee [*haldī*, turmeric], and Loon [*lōn*, salt]; mix them together and take ½ pice weight every morning very early. Alter [native]: Take Loon and the juice of Ginger, 2 pice weight every morning fasting; prescribed per Fuckeer [*faqīr*] woman by Sowadges [? Sāhū jī's] Garden near Pattana.

DIGESTION

3. FOUR AUGUNS [*agnī*, fire, digestive power] OR STOMACKS

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 23-23a.

(*a*) The Hindoos say a man hath 4 Auguns or Stomacks, *vizt.*

(1) Titchauggun [*tīkshna agnī*], which is when a man hath a good stomack [appetite], and omiting eating at his usuall stomack, then his head will Ach and be feverish, and hee will loose his stomack, and what hee after eats will not digest, when there ariseth weakness.

(2) Bichmauggun [*vishama agnī*], when a man hath no stomack before victualls comes before him, and then a great stomack and can eat much, whence ariseth Budhussum [*bad-hazmī*] or ill digestion and sometimes Singreny [*sangraha grihinī*, diarrhœa], which is a disease arising from ill digestion, which not having a good evacuation, remaineth in the body untill great quantity be gathered together, which stirred up by over-heating the body, runns out violently at once, giving a man 20 or 30 stooles in a day, and after that binds a man from going to stoole, so gathering againe, repeats the same course once in 15, 30, 45 or 60 dayes.

(3) Mundauggun [*mandā agnī*], when a man hath a great stomack, but when sees victualls cannot eat halfe what hee thought hee could; from hence cometh weakness.

(4) Summauggun [*samā agnī*], when a man hath a good Stomack and what hee eateth turneth to digestion, then is a man in good health.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 31a.

(*b*) The Hindoos 4 Auguns [*agnī*, digestive power] proceed as followeth:—First, when a mans body aboundes with Pit and Cuff, thence ariseth the Bich maugun. When abounds with Pit alone, then ariseth Mandaugun. And when the body is proportioned with all alike, thence ariseth Summaugun, which is perfect health.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

(*c*) Nilgunt [Nīlkanth], [a] Doctor at Huglie, Hindoo, saith That in mans body are 7 Dhauts [*dhātu*, essential part] or Digestions or Mettalls, *vizt.*, the meat turns first into a juice [chyle] which is the first Dhaut; then to Blood, 2; Then to Flesh, 3; Then to Fatt, 4; Then to Bones, 5; Then to Marrow, 6; Then to Seed, 7.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16a.

(*d*) Bidgenaut [Baijnāth], the Hindoo Doctor at Pattana, saith That ill digestion proceeds from over-clogging it, as fire, if much fewell laid upon it, will extinguish and suffocate it: so the stomack, if over-charged, the natural heat will extinguish.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 32.

(*e*) The Hindoos also say that there are 7 Dauts or Metalls in man and as many humors or drosses

[worthless matter], as (1) Chyle, whose humor or dross is excrement and piss; (2) Blood, whose dross is Teares; (3) Flesh, whose dross is Snot; (4) Fatt, whose dross is Spitt; (5) Bones, whose dross is Ear-wax; (6) Marrow, whose dross is Sweat; (7) Seed, whose dross is Haire.

These 7 Dauts are boyled, and in their severall boylings (which is caused by the By, Pit and Cuff), ariseth the 7 Drosses. And the victuals that a man eats, first turning to a Chyle, then to Blood, then to Flesh, then to Fat, then to Bones, then to Marrow and then to Seed, tis many dayes before it bee compleated and comes to seed, according to the victualls a man eats; for milk will be digested and become Seed in few days, whereas some will not bee Seed in less than 30 days.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 6.

(*f*) If after victuall[s] the right nostrill be open, then the victualls will digest well, but if shut will not at all digest, or badly.

4. BLOOD

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22a.

(*a*) A Morung [Morang] Hindoo Doctor of Physick saith that there is but one Veine in mans body, in which the blood continually circulates, and that this veine turnes 900 times, which is the reason that some of them say there are 900 veines, whereas there is but one, which might be drawne out as the guts are, which seeme to bee many, beeing like the root of a tree; also that there are 72 Centers where they meet, occasioning so many bones in man; also there are 10 holes in Man, one being at the top of his head.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

(*b*) They [the Hindoos] also say that the blood circulates, that in the feet runing to the head, and thence back againe to the feet againe through other ruggs [*rag*] or veines.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 34a.

(*c*) I asked the Bamin [Brāhman] Doctor at Pottana [Patna] why the blood was red, who gave mee this answer, *vizt.*, That Every body is constituted of 5 Elements, from which arise 5 Colours principally. So that when a man eats victualls, that turnes into chyle, which is of all the 5 Elements mixed; this Chyle into blood (after the dross is seperated), where (when comes) works and boyles and casts of[f] all the matter from it which are of other colours so that only that which was red remains, or the fiery part of the Chyle.

5. SIX TASTS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17a.

The Hindoos say there are 6 Tasts, which arise from the 6 severall sorts of juices, and from the 6 Juices 5 Coloures arise, *vizt.*

(1) Sweet or Mitta [*mīthā*], whose juice causeth White

(2) Sower or Cutta [*khattā*], whose juice causeth Red.

(3) Salt or Lunea [*lūnā*], whose juice causeth Yellow.

(4) Hot tast or Corrooa whose juice causeth } Greene.

(5) Bitter or Teeta [*tītā*] whose juice causeth } Greene.

(6) Harsh or Cossella [*kasailā*] whose juice causeth Black.

So that any of these tast may be of an other colour, yet their juice will dry colours as above.

6. SIGNES OF HEALTH AND SICKNESS

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 11a-12.

In the morning early, let a man make water into a glass or pot, but let a little at the first go from him upon the ground, and let him not piss so long as hee can into the glass, but at the latter end piss againe upon the ground; so that hee hath in the glass the piss that in the middle came from him, which let stand untill it be cold. Then take some cleare oyle, as lamp oyle, and with a straw let fall one drop of it into the piss, which oyle if if [*sic* ? it] keepes together and spreads not, or but little, tis a signe of very good health. If it spreads but breaks not, but keeps together, tis a sign of indifferent good health. If the oyle spread and break into several peeces, tis a signe his distemper is incurable and will at length kill him, though perhaps not very suddainly. But if the oyle sink to the bottome, tis a signe the man will dy very suddainly.

7. SIGNE TO KNOW IF ANY OF A MANS NATURE COME TH[R]OUGH THE YARD WITH HIS URIN

Take a mans Urin in a morning; let it setle, and from the setlement poure away the urin, leaving nothing but the sand behind, which sand and stuff put into a pot covered and set the pot in the Sun untill it be dryed. If then the sandy stuff bee clam [moist, sticky] and slymey tis a signe there is in it something of a mans seede in it, but if it be like sand and will milder [crumble], tis a signe it was only ill digestion, &ca.

8. BREATH

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

Hindoos Say that So many times as a man breatheth, so many times hee winketh with his eyes.

Hee [the Hindu doctor at Patna] saith also That whenever a man takes in his breath, it runns into every veine in his body, and when lets go his breath it comes from every veine of his body.

9. DOOTURA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16a.

The seedes of Dootura [*dhatūrā*], which are very little ones, if 2 or 3 of them be eaten by any man, hee will be perfectly stupid and not know what hee doth, but will be like an ideot, and if eat a greater quantity, it will kill him; after this stupidity, which will last about 2 or 3 houres, hee will not remember any thing hee did at that time.

10. HINDOOS HOW PRESCRIBE PHYSICK TO WOMEN

Harl. MS 4254, fol. 27a.

The Hindoos physitians being not permitted to see any of the Moores women, so that when they are sick and desire their assistance, they cause them to take a handcercher and rub all over their body so that it be well wet or moistned with the sweat of the body, or dirtied therewith. This handcercher the physitian puts into a bason of faire water and steepes it, and by the smell of the water knowes the distemper as followeth, *vizt*:

If it smell saltish, then shee abounds with By [*bāī*] and Cuff [*kaf*].

If Ganda [*ganda*, foetid, stinking] or Rank, then shee abounds with Pitt.

If fresh, then shee abounds with By alone.

If fatish and like grease and stinks, then abounds with Cuff alone.

If it smells like fish, then is shee very angry and cholerick.

If like wine or Arrack ['*arak*, spirits], then is shee with child.

If like Milk, then is shee very strong.

If like Cummulka (which is a sort of yellow Tulip), then is she in very good health.

11. CHILDBEARING

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

In India child bearing is very easie, the most women being delivered very easily, especially the poorer sort, and well in a day or twos time.

B. Prescriptions

1. RECEIPTS FOR PURG

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23.

(1) Take of Rasins Sun, 1 Tola (*c.* 179 gr.], of Anniseeds, 1 Tola, and of Herra [*harrā*, *Terminalia chebula*, Chebulic or Black Myrabolan] 1 Tola. Then take of water, one pint or 20 pice weight. Boyle all together till bee but ⅛ part left, and take a little of that water, and it will give you 3 or 4 gentle stooles.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22a.

(2) Auk leaf Purg. The Leaves Auk or Aukkapaut [*ak-kā-pāt*, *Calotropis gigantea*, swallow-wort], if bound

above and neare the Navill, causeth a man to go to Stoole.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.1

(3) Herra [*harrā*] Is a sort of physick which the Bamins [Brāhmans] have, which holden in a mans hand, presently gives a man a stoole.

2. OYLE BANDGIR [*bandgīr*, cement]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 28.

The Hindoos have an oyle which (they say), lying one drop upon the Navill, will give a man a Stool, also diping a mans finger in it and touching the tongue therewith, will also give a man a stool. Tis made as followeth (as the Hindo Doctor at Pattana saith), *vizt.*

Take Cheetah, Sinkpoopee, Herre, Cumbelah, Punlah great, Punlah small, Bidharrah, Dunbeherah *alias* Ummultas or Cassiafistula, Tommabootee, Jummaulgootah, Sunneah, Goorsarree, Leelberree, Bobneetee, Pipramool, Bypring, Cuthee, Choak; of each of these 1 pice weight; and of Seedgehajorr or Seedge root, 2 pice weight; of Seedgeka dood or Seedge milk, 24 pice weight; Of Ockoonkadood, 8 pice weight; of Gue or Butter (made of Cowes Milk), 1½ seer.

You may reckon the pice at ⅘ oz. Troy weight, and seer at 1 lb. 31 oz. [*sic*].

Put all these together in a pot and boile them and take of[f] what Scum ariseth, and boyleing it about 3 houres till but ¼ part be left, which take and straine and keepe for use. And the longer tis kept the better it will bee, and will never decay. This is also good for the Stone if rubbed upon the Belly, and also good for the By Goola [*bāī qūlinj, qaulinj*] or Coliqs.

3. [ANTIDOTES FOR SCORPION AND SNAKE-BITES]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 10a.

(*a*) When a man hath been biten with a Scorpion, or rather Stung, let him take Loonee [*lōnia*, *lūnia*, creeping purselane] (which is like Purselin, and the Persians calle it Tuckma Culpha [*tukhme khurfa*, purslane-seeds]) and eat a little of it, and it will presently asswage the paine. Prescribed per Pottana Hindoo Doctor [Hindu doctor at Patna].

The same Loonee is good to keep in water in hot weather and drink, being cold and somthing of the nature of Tuckmarine.

(*b*) The same Doctor saith That if a man be bit with a Snake, if hee takes Jummaulgootah [*jamāl-gōtā*, *Croton Tiglium*], and rub upon a stone weting the stone, and with that anoint his eyes and put some of it into them, then all the poison will come into his eyes and thence drop out, after which hee will be very well. This hee saith is a present [speedy] remedie for such that apply it in time this way; but if the party be near death, then shave the top of his head, and prick or cut it with a penknife point on the scull till it bleed, and rup [rub] upon it the said Jummaulgootah, and the party will presently [at once] recover.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 11.

(*c*) A Hindoo Doctor at Pattana saith That if any man be bitten with a Snake, take Jummaul gootah as in preceding page [above].

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

(*d*) Luserage Is a great Antidote against poison, being inwardly taken, and against biteing of snakes

or venomous creatures, being ground with water and taken. Tis reported that no Snake will come nigh a man if hath this Luserage about him.

4. COCO MALDIVA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15.

Coco Maldiva or Sea Cocho nut [Seychelles cocoa-nut] is found upon the Maldiva Islands and is there cast up by the Sea. It is supposed to grow upon a tree in the Sea, so that when it is ripe, the strength of the water breakes it from the branch on which it growes. It is much like other Coconutt, only bigger. Tis a Soveraigne Antidote against poison, being ground upon a Stone and a little water put to it and drunk. Tis also very good against fevers, being drunk with water, and for Agues drunk with Arrack [*'arak*, spirits].

The usuall way is to take the Nut and rub it upon a stone, and puting a little water upon it, untill you have rubbed of[f] such a quantity as will make white and as thick as milk a quarter of a pint of water. Then put it into said quantity of water, and drink it of[f], going to bed or keeping warme after it. But if for an Ague, instead of water, take Arrack, Brandy or Sack. The greater the distemper is, the greater quantity must be taken. This nut is very deare. I have paid for [a] peece of its Kernell 4 times its weight in Rupee silver for it.

5. GHAW PAUT FOR WOUNDS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 2.

Bramin Doctor saith That Ghow paut [*ghāo pāt*], the leafs of which many time[s grow] close together,

from betwixt which (when the Sun is up) runneth a juice, which is good for green [fresh, unhealed] wounds, being powred therein, also for bruises. It presently [instantly] taketh away the paine. The leaf bruised hath the same effect.

6. [REMEDIES FOR] TOOTHACH

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

(*a*) For Toothach. Take of Ants and their egs a pot full, and put pot and all over the fire till all the Ants and egs be converted into ashes, with which ashes rub any rotten tooth, and it will drop out.

(*b*) Take Butchut teah [? *bichūa*, *bichutī*, stinging-nettle], which is a broad leafe with prickles on it. Put a good quantity of those leaves into a pot and to them put the rines [rinds] or sides of pomegranates. To the top of this pot fasten with chanam [*chūnā*, lime] another pots mouth. These put over the fire and let boyle untill you think ⅛ is boyled away; and the rest strayned and applyed is good for toothach.

7. [REMEDIES FOR] CHOLIQ

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26.

(*a*) The Hindoo Doctor at Pattana saith That to breath[e] a Veine which runs betwixt the Knuckle of the Ring finger and Little finger on right hand and so runns upon the ring finger, to breathe that veine neare the Knuckle on the 3d joynt of the ring finger is a present Remedy for the By Goola [*bāī gūlmā*] or Wind choliq. Also for the said distemper, or for terrible gripeing in the guts: To take a Junk [*jonk*] or hors-leach alive, and with a powder they have, they give it to a man who swalloweth downe the horsleach along

with the powder, and the horsleach will in the Belly suck up that blood or humor which causeth the distemper, and afterwards will come out at the mans fundament.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol 13.

(*b*) For By [*bāī*] or Wind choliq: Take Tilka Teale [*til-kā-tel*, Gingelly or Sesame oil], and Rendeka-teale [*rendī-kā-tel*, castor-oil]. Make them very warm; then rub the belly therewith, very much where the By or hard lump of wind is, and all the rest of the belly and back and sides, turning the party about, who must ly stretched out with his feet for about an houre. If the paine leave him not and the lump grow not soft, then take a leafe called Reand:ka:paut [*rendī-kā-pāt*, leaf of the castor-oil plant, *Ricinus communus*] or leafe Reand; make this leafe hott, then put oyle upon the leafe, then apply it hot to the belly and bind it hard; but before you bind on this leafe, apply hot cloths to the belly, and supple it with oyle 10 or 12 times together. If ease be not had by this, make cakes of black gram [chick-pea] and apply upon the said leaves upon the belly which bind upon them, and sleep if can, and after you awake (about an houre) loose all and have a care of cold, and drink nothing cold that night.

Pro bat: est [*probatum est*] Per Jo: Marshall.

8. REMEDIES FOR FRENCH POX [*Syphilis*]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18.

(*a*) Sugebund [Sūrajband], a Doctor at Pattana, the most famous that hath beene in them parts for many years, gave to Mr. Charnock a Minerall called Rambaundrus [*Rām Bhadra ras* (essence)], of his

owne making, which hee said would cure any man of the French Pox, though almost eaten in peeces therewith. Tis to be taken 5 mornings together, each morning ½ Ruttee [*rattī*] in Beetle [*betel*, *pān*] or otherwise, not eating flesh or drinking wine in the said 5 days. Tis also good against fevers or to provoake lechery.

Memorandum. A Ruttee is about the 40th part of a shilling weight [175 grs. Troy], so ½ Ruttee the 80th part of a shilling weight.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 27a.

(*b*) For the French Pox. Take the bark of Herforery [*harpharauri*, *Phyllanthus distichus*] tree, and pepper, of each 1 pice or ⅘ oz. weight, and eat every morning, and it will cure the French pox. You must eat it so long till cured. The bark must be dryed and the powder of it taken, and you must obstaine from Salt and strong drink.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 11.

(*c*) For French Pox. Take the root Burna [*barnā*, *Cratoeva religiosa*] or Burnakajer [*barana kā jar*], and pill it and dry it and beat it to powder, which sift thorow a fine sieve or cloth. Take of it the weight of 4 pice or 3 oz., and 21 pepper cornes beat to powder very fine. Mix these together and put into a little water and drink 7 mornings together, abstaining all that time from flesh and also any thing that is soft, and it will drive out the venome by stooles. But if it be broke out into the body (after this inward medicine taken), take Rindeka paut [*rendī-kā-pāt*] or the leafe Rind [*rendī*, castor-oil] and apply to the sores every morning and evening, alwayes observing to wash the

sores with cleane water before apply fresh leaves. And in few dayes the sores will be dried up.

(*d*) Receipt for french pox.

Owlah [? *aonlā*, myrobalan]	2 Tola
Gokeroo [*gokhurū*, *Tribulus terrestris*]	2
Talmachonna [*tālmakhāna*, *Hygrophila spinosa*]	2
Jowacor [*jau khār*, alkali from burnt barley]	2
Sugar candy	8

Bruise all these together and straine them thorow a cloth, and eat every morning fasting one Tola weight till be well and find no paine in bones or elswhere, and continue so [to] eat 3 dayes longer, and will perfectly cure the French pox, if not of a very long continuance. But this powder will not keep good above 2 or 3 months.

9. REMEDIES FOR BUDHUZZUM [*bad-hazmi*] OR INDIGESTION

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 9.

(*a*) For the Budhuzzum, or indigestion, which cometh by drinking too much milk, the only remedie is to eate a good quantity of Sugar candy, Sugar loaf or other Sugar.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13.

(*b*) For Budhuzzum or Indigestion. Take 20 cloves; bruise them and put them in water. Make all this hot and drink it.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

(*c*) For Digestion. Take every morning, ½ houre before Sunrise, a good draught of cold water, and walke ½ houre after.

10. REMEDIES FOR TENESMUS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13.

(*a*) Receipt for Tenesmus. Take of Motah Dennea [*mota dhaniā*, large coriander] and Beall [*bel*, *bael* fruit], Attees [*ātīs*, aconite], and Shoogim beall [? *sūkshma*, *sūchham* (refined) *bel*], of each alike weight. Beat them altogether untill they be halfe broken. Take of it one pice weight, being $\frac{4}{5}$ of oz. Put to it $1\frac{1}{2}$ pint of water. Boyle it untill but $\frac{1}{8}$ pint left. That drink warme one houre after Sunrise. It must be drunk when first made, and for 6 or 7 dayes together, in all which time eat only dy [*dahī*, sour milk, curds] and rice with a little water in it, and only at noone and night, and drink nothing but water. Then after, every morning for 14 dayes fasting, drink a Sophgoose steeped $\frac{1}{2}$ in water and with a little Sugar drinking it; Jophgood as much as a man may hold betwixt his finger and his thumb.

(*b*) Tilka paut for Tenesmus. Tilka-paut [*til-kā-pāt*], or the leafe of the tree or herbe Til [*Sesamum Indicum*], being steeped and stirred a little in water, will make the water so thick that it will be like the white of an egg, which water drunk fresh 3 or 7 mornings together, beeing mixed with Sugar, is good for a Tenesmus or heate in the Guts. This prescribed per a Fuckeer [*faqīr*] and probate [proved] per J. M. to bee good. Tuckmareen [*tukhm*, seed of ?] is also good.

11. RECEIPTS FOR SORE EYES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13.

(*a*) Take post [poppy-head], which is that part of the Ophium upon which the flower growes; let it be

old and dry. Steep it a little in water, and with that water wash the eyes, and let the water go into them once in ½ houres time. Turmerick put upon the eyes is also good, also piss.

(*b*) For heat of the Brains or Eyes. Take goats-milk and dip it in Cotton and apply to the braine, and it will repell any hot humor, also to the eyes, repells the heat. This is also good if applyed to the fundament of those that have great heat there after a Tenesmus.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17a.

(*c*) Nermalee [*nirmalī*, *Strychnos potatorum*, Clearing Nut tree] for sore Eyes, or Dirty water, also Chunam [*chūnā*, lime]. It [Nermalee] is a berry like a pea which, being rubbed within a pot in which is dirty water, presently [immediately] causeth all the dirt to settle to the bottome. It is also exceeding good for eyes that are inflamed or dim, being rubbed upon a Stone and wet, and that applyed to the Eyes, cooles and cleares them. Also Chuna or lime is good for the setling of dirty water, if put therein and stirred much. This Chuna is that which is eaten with Beetle [*betel*] somtimes. Tis the same with lime in England, unquenched. Sometimes tis made of Cockleshells burnt to powder, as they burne lime. This will also settle dirty water.

12. REMEDIES FOR STONE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

(*a*) Take 6 cloves of Garlick and steep in Rhenish wine; [it] is good for the Stone when drunk.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 27a.

(*b*) Take Tulmucconna [*tālmakhāna*], Owla [*aonlā*] or Mirabolons, and Jowacar [*jau-khār*], of each 1 pice

weight, or ⅝ oz. Dry all these and beat to powder, which sift. Then take Gowcull [*gūgal*, *Balsamodendron Mukul*], the whole tree, leaves, stock and root, and put into a pot of water, which boyle together till ⅞ be boyled away. Then take the ⅛ remaining, and after [having] eaten the said powder sifted, drink this of[f], and it will presently carry away the Stone in mans body.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21.

(*c*) The Bindgir [*bandgīr*] oyle or butter is good for stone, being laid upon the Navell warme and rubbed where the pain is, also for the Gout, applyed also warme upon the Navell, and chaife the place where the Navell is. Tis also good for any paine whatsoever, being applyed as before, or 2 drops taken inwardly in a sponfull of milk or a little honey, or in a rasin or the like, and if used 7 or 8 dayes together will quite carry away the Stone. You must apply it in a morning fasting, and not eat or drink in 2 or 3 houres after.

To make the oyle Bundgir. Take first 1¼ seer cow butter and put it into a copper or brass pann (which is cleane). Set it over the fire till melted. Then take of Bejoor [*bijaura*, citron] leafe, Jemm [*jām*, *jamun*, *Eugenia Jambolana*] leafe, Kite [*kaith*, *Feronia elephantum*, Elephant- or Wood-apple] lefe and Mango-tree leafe and Beale [*bel*, bael] leafe, of each a small quantity, so that all make one handfull. Wash these well and put into the butter and let it there boyle about ¼ of houre. Then take out the leaves and throw away.

Then take the Cheetah [*chīta*, *Plumbago Zeylanica*], Sinkpoopee [*sang-kūpī*], &ca. [and other] roots (having bruised them to powder), and put them in a pot to which put so much water as will temper it; and then

work it into a consistence like past. Then put that past into the butter which is boyling, and stir it about untill it be well dissolved. Then put into it the Ockoon milk [*akund*, *akwan*, *akkand* = *Calotropis gigantea*] and Seedge [*sīj*] milk, and stir it well together. So let it boyle (keeping it stirring that it burnes not at the bottom) gently for 3 or 4 houres, or so long untill the dross (which will be continually at the bottom) become not glewey or clammy.

Then take it of[f] and strain of[f] the oyle and let stand till cold. And if then it be stringy or clamy, tis not well boyled; so you must put it (together with the dross from which it was strained) over the fire and boyle it better. And when tis well boyled, take it of and straine it and keepe it for use. The longer tis kept the better it will bee.

One or two drops applyed or lien upon the Navill will give a man one stool, if his body be not very much bound; and if it bee, then let fall one drop or two upon the toung and swallow it downe and it will not faile.

Tis also good for the stone or collique, if rubbed upon the belly. Tis to be applyed or taken in the morning early however, before eat any thing, and then to abstaine from Victualls 3 or 4 houres.

13. NAROOA, GOUT [*nahārnā*, *nāhru*. *nārū*. guinea-worm]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17a.

Narooa. Tis a distemper or paine which runns up and downe the limbs and other parts of the body, somtimes resideing in one place, other times in another; and where it is, it causeth a great paine or

smart and swelling. I conceive tis the same with the Gout. Some of these people say tis a worme in the flesh. They take it out by heating Tilka Teal [*til-kā-tel*] or Tylloyle [Gingelly oil], made exceeding hot, and rubbing the place afflicted therewith, and using also a charme with it; and therefore the oyle is then called Byparutmulka [?] Teal, or charmed oyle; and the worme will, [a] peece of it, appeare thorow the Skin, which they pull out by little and little.

14. [GOUT]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 27.

For the Gout or Putcha Gant [*pakkā gānth*] (as the Hindoos call it). Take Goocul [*gūgal*] oyle, Maucaud [*mākāl*] or Narranie oyle [*nārāyana taila*] and Bollaut oyle [*bālātaila*], and oyle the part that is afflicted, and it presently [immediately] carries away the paine.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 27a.

These 4 last Remedies [for Dropsy, Gout, Stone, French Pox or *Syphilis*] prescribed by the Hindoo Doctor to the English at Pattana November 27th [16]71, who also saith that the Gout is nothing else but when a man hath drunk or eaten somthing which is sower, or of such a nature that it gets into his blood and breakes it or curdles it, as vinegar will milk, so that when the By [*bāī*] or wind should pass thorow the blood, it is here stopped with the curdled blood so that it causeth great pains.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22a.

Bowsaulourgur oyle anoynted upon the part pained with the Gout cures [illegible] also Maucaul [*mākāl, Trichosanthis palmata*] oyle [illegible]d for same.

15. REMEDIES FOR BLOODY FLUX [Dysentery]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21a.

(*a*) Take Odgwaine [*ajwain*, Bishop's Weed, Lovage] berry and beat it to powder, and take of that powder ½ pice weight 3 mornings together in a little water.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22a.

(*b*) [Take] 21 Cornes pepper and like quantity of Goark culp [? *quwārā kā kalpa kalka*, a digestible decoction], which eat for 7 dayes together, and [it] will cure flux.

16. [REMEDY FOR MODASHEEN, Mort-de-chien, Cholera]

Harl. MS. fol. 4254, 14a.

Taba [Ar. *tibb*, *tabb*, medicine] de Soondree [*sundarī*, *Heritiera minor*, looking-glass tree] or de Modasheen Is very good against Modasheen, ground with wine and taken; also to burne the foot in the heele with a hot iron is good for ditto. This is also good against bleeding, either by wounds or otherwise, being bound on any part of the body.

17 [REMEDY FOR] BARBEERS [A VARIETY OF PARALYSIS] OR WEAK JOYNTS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

Take Nutmeg and grind it to powder, to which put a little Ophium, and to that put Beal- [*bel*] oyle, and mix them altogether, and therewith rub the joynts which are weake or have the Barbeers, and it strengthens them.

18. (*a*) RECEIPT FOR AGUE [OR] SEATBUNGEE [*sītabhanjī*]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22a.

Hertall [*haritāla*, yellow arsenic] or Jurmit [*zahr*, *jahr*, poison, *mittī*, earth, clay, Ar. *zirnikh*, arsenic]	2 Tola
Tuttoe [*nīla-tūtia*] or blew copras	1
Gunga mootee which is the shell of [a] fish called Gunga [? *gangā motī*, pearl of the Ganges, mother-of-pearl]	6

Kill [destroy the active quality of] these mineralls with Gukewark [? -*waraq*, leaf] and the Gungamootee with the juice of its leafe, by bruising it well with said juice 7 or 8 times, betwixt each time drying it in the Sun, and then ading more juice, and it will be well killed. Then take it, make it up in balls and bind up in a leafe, and put in the fire till red hot, and then take it out againe and keep it for use, which is 2 Ruttees at a time, to be taken 3 dayes together in a little honey.

(*b*) [A VARIATION OF THE SAME RECEIPT]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 26.

(14) Receipt to make Seat bunge. Take of Hertall (all [*alias*] Jurmit), 2 Tola : of Tuttoe (all [*alias*] blew copras), 1 Tola and of Gunga mootee of largest sort (tis as well, and I think the same, with Oyster shell, only less), 6 Tola. These bruise to a powder. Then upon a broad stone put to them the juice of Gukework (which is a slimy thing), and mix and beat it together for an hour or so long till the whole substance be dry, and roule it on a lump, and ad more of the juice to it to make it wet. Then beat it up and downe againe

till be all dry, all this time beating it in the Seaslime, and beat it over so 8 or 10 times or 6 or 8 houres. Continue beating it with a pestell upon a Stone, ading every time more juice to it. After[wards] make it up in cakes of about 1 oz. each, and these cakes wrap up in double leaves of Rind [*rendī*], binding it with strings, and kindle a fire of Cow dung dryed, and put these cakes into it, and burne till fire be cleare and no smoke left, which will be in an houre. Then take out the Cakes and keepe for use, which is good for an Ague, as before. The Gunga Mootee and Gukewark are only to kill the Hertall and Taetoe.

19. RAIS DE JOAN LOPIS

[Peruvian Bark, Jesuits Bark, *Cinchona*]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

This is a wood, which is good against fevers if ground in warme water, and for Agues ground in Sack. Tis good against impostumes [abscesses], if ground in Limewater, being applyed to the grieved [diseased] part.

Scraped or ground in water is good for greene [unhealed] wounds, being applyed.

Tis [al]so good for Coliqs proceeding from wind: and is a good Antidote against biteing of snakes or other venomous creatures.

20. [REMEDY] FOR DROPSIE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

Take Tincall [*tinkāl*] or Borax, Saltpeter, Salt and Long pepper, of each of these a pice weight or ¾ of oz. Beat them small to powder, then straine them thorow a Cloth with water: after set it over the fire till all

the water or moisture be evaporated; then take the powder and sift thorow a fine cloth. Then take Seedge or Tohr [*sīj* or *thāhar*, *Euphorbia neriifolia*, spurge], which is a tree hath much white stuff in it like milk, so that the English Generally call the tree a Milk tree. Take the leafe of this and oyle it well with Tilka teal [*til-kā-tel*] or til [Gingelly] oyle. Then hold it so long against the fire, till it be so dry that it begins to bend. Then rub it, and take out the juice of it, and with that and the said powder make pills and take for 2 or 3 or 4 dayes, morning and evening, 4 mas. [*māsha*] or $\frac{1}{6}$ part of oz. Averdepoiz of this pill, and it will bring away all the water out of a mans belly.

If the dropsie hath beene of long continuance and got to a great head, then these pills may be made somthing bigger, and taken oftner, and if for children, not so great pills. And all the dayes in which you take these pills, you must obstaine from these following meats [food], *vizt.*, from bread or anything made of flour, from all Sower things, from Sweet things, especially Sugarloaf, from fish or any water fowle, from Salt, from Arrack [*'arak*, spirits] or wine, and from Milk.

21. GOWLOOCHON

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23a.

Gowloochon [*gau-lochan*, animal (cow), bezoar] is a yellowish thing which is said to be found in the head of a white Cow, betwixt her hornes, within her braines. This taken for 4 dayes together, 2½ mass each day, with as much Safron, will cure the falling sickness [epilepsy], called in India, Morgee [*mirgī*]. Tis to be bought in the Bazar.

22. TO MAKE WOMANS PAPS LITTLE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23.

[Take] Coulgunta [? *kulgunta*] seed, 4 pice weight, and bruise to powder and straine thorow a cloth. Take halfe of it, and put to 20 pice weight water, which boyle till but ⅛th part left, which straine, and thereto put the other halfe of the powder, and heat it, and drink it of as drink Coffy, and continue so doing every morning for a month, and your breasts will be as little as those womens who never had children.

23 BALLASORE WOMEN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25a.

At Ballasore the women put plugs or dirt up their fundament, which they were [wear] there to keep them bound in their bodies, for eating Rice, they are often very loose. When they go to wash in the River they take with them clay to make plugs, and when have washed, plug up their fundament till wash againe in the River

24. KILLED MINERALS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23a.

(*a*) Copper killed Is good against pains in belly and to destroy wormes or what else offensive there; 2 Ruttees [*rattī*] weight with so much cloves taken 3 mornings together.

(*b*) Tinn killed Is good against Ghonorea [*gonorrhoea*] or running of raines, taken 14 dayes together; 2 Rutties [*rattī*] weight every night with so much Sugar candy.

(*c*) Iron killed Is said [to be] good to strengthen stomack and make a man long winded, taken 21 days

together, if very ill; otherwise 14 or 16 days, 2 Rutties weight, with so much cloves each time.

(*d*) Seat bungee [*sītabhanjī*] Killed Is esteemed excellent good against an Ague, being taken 3 mornings together, each morning 2 Rutties weight, with so much dried ginger.

(*e*) Singraut Obrauk [*abrak*, talc (*lāl abrak*), mica] or Ising glass killed Is good to strengthen the stomack and generate seed, taken 1 month together, each day 2 Rutties with twice so much Sugar candy or cloves.

(*f*) Don Obrauk (*dhān abrak*, thin isinglass] or Ising glas Killed Is good for ditto, taken with 1 Ruttee or ½ Ruttie of Musk, as the other with Cloves, for 1 month.

(*g*) Bigenaut [Baijnāth], The Bramin Doctor at Pattana gave mee the former receipts and also the following mineralls killed the 4th March 167½, *vizt.*:

Copper		3 Annas weight
Tinn		7
Iron	2 Rupees	6
Seatbungee	1 Rupee	5
Singraut Obrauk	1	8
Dorn Obrauk		12
Weight in all	6	9

Each Rupee qt. [contains] 16 annas or 10½ Mass.
Each Mass qt. 8 Ruttees.

25. [TO KILL MINERALS]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 28.

(15) Seven Dauts [*dhāt*, mineral]. Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick Silver, Lead, Tin, Iron, all which the Hindoos kill as followeth, except Quicksilver.

To kill gold : first melt it and then quench it, *vizt.* :
7 times in Rende [*rendī*] oyle
7 times in Buttermilk
7 times in Cowpiss
7 times in Conjee [*kānjī*] or juice of rice
7 times in Cortook [?*khār*, *tukhm*] or juice of a graine.

Then when heated and quenched 35 times as above, take Porragunduck [*pāra* and *gandhak*], (or Quick silver and brimstone, of each ♂ quantity to the gold) twice the quantity of the Gold, and put it to the Gold and let it burne in a strong earthen pot, with a good fire kept under it, and continually stirred for 54 houres ; however till it burne so long till nothing be left but ashes, which let burne a while, and the Gold will remaine in ashes, which is well burnt.

Silver killed. The same way with Gold.

Copper killed. Copper quenched the same way, and to the Porragunduck ad Chook [*chok*] and also milk. This will require 24 houres to be killed in, and you must by little and little put in the Chook and milk, and burne as did the Gold.

Lead killed. As Copper is killed, so is Lead to be killed.

Tinn killed. To kill Tinn you must heat and quench it as you did Gold and then put Turmerick, Long-pepper, Jowayne [*ajwain*], Cherkerree and Umleka chaul [*imlī kā chhāl*], or bark of Tamerine tree. These beaten to powders and put into the Tinn as burnes in the pot by little and little, continueing a violent hot fire under the pot, and by little and little, somtimes putting in one, sometimes another of these powders, till the Tinn be turned to ashes, which will

be in about 6 houres; and then let all the other ashes burne or evaporate away, and the Tinn ashes will remaine.

Iron killed. Iron is to be killed as Tinn, only instead of Turmerick, &ca. you must put Porragunduck [*parā* and *gandhak*] Gukewah [? *-waraq*], Dy [*dahī*] and Nockchickney, and this will require 42 houres to be killed in, and you must put in the things little by little, and keep it stirring, in all these cases of killing minerals.

[To know] When Minerals [are] well killed. Take honey and butter and mix together and set over the fire, and thereto put the Minerall you would try if well killed, and it will settle to the bottome; and if it be any ways hard or brickle, then tis not well killed, but if pure ashes, then is well killed.

Quicksilver Is said not yet to be knowne how to be killed.

NOTES ON CHAPTER X

HINDU MEDICINE

For the more convenient study of the knowledge gleaned by Marshall of Hindu Medicine, as practised in his day, his scattered notes have been arranged under two headings—Medical Knowledge and Prescriptions—and these have been subdivided as far as possible under the various functions and diseases of the body to which they refer. In several cases, however, the prescriptions apply to more than one disease.

First come humours, then digestion, blood, taste, breath, etc. The prescriptions include purges, antidotes for poison, remedies for wounds, abscesses, fevers, gout, dysentery, colic, stone, sore eyes, toothache and syphilis.

Except in a few cases the terms used by Marshall in recording the statements and remedies given to him by the Hindu doctors at Patna and Hūglī (and also those obtained from Muhammadans) have been identified with the help of Garcia da Orta, Dutt, Dymock, Wise, and above all, Watt. For the most part Marshall is, as usual, astonishingly accurate, and he must have devoted both time and patience to acquire the facts set forth in his MS. The majority of the cases dealt with under the two sections require no further explanation. Those calling for remark are noted below.

A. MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE

1 (*a*) The text is confused. It implies that three fingers are used to test the pulse, one on the ball of the thumb, one on the wrist and one on the fore arm. For other methods of feeling the pulse see Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, pp 63, 283-4

(*c*) As regards the predominance of certain humours in certain months, see Wise, *op. cit.* p 45.

3. (*c*) Marshall is repeating what his informant had learned from the *Suśruta*, a medical work compiled by an author of that name, *c.* eighth cent. A.D. See *Bower MS.* Part I p 15, n. 32

9. Marshall is apparently describing the effect of *bhāng* (leaves of *Cannabis sativa*), to which *dhatūrā* seeds are added to increase its intoxicating effect.

B. PRESCRIPTIONS

2. "Bandgir" is evidently the Persian word *bandgir*, used of a cement made of chalk, oil and cotton or horsehair. The term was probably applied by Muhammadan physicians to this medicine for outward application. Marshall has two recipes for the oil (Nos. 2 and 12 *c*). Among the ingredients composing No. 2 the following have been identified:

Cheetah,	*chītā, Plumbago Zeylanica.*	
Sinkpoopee,	*sang-kūpī, Clerodendron inerme.*	
Herre,	*harrā*, myrobalan	
Cumbelah,	*kamīla, kamela, Mallotus Philippinus.*	
Punlah,	*panlat*, cardamom.	
Bidharrah,	? *bidari-kand, Ipomaea digitata.*	
Dunbeherah, *alias* Ummulatas,	*amaltās, Cassia fistula.*	
Tommabootee,	? tambulī, Piper Betel.	
Jummaulgootah,	*jamālgota Croton Tiglium*, Purging Croton.	
Pipramool,	*pīpal mūl*, Long Pepper root.	
Cuthee,	*kath*, gum-arabic.	
Choak,	*chok, Rumex vesicanus* (sorrel).	
Seedgekajorr,	*sīj kā jar*, root	of *Euphorbia pilulifera*, Spurge-wort.
Seedgeka dood,	*sīj kā dūdh*, milky sap	
Ockoonkadood,	*akund (akwan, akkand), kā dūdh, Calotropis gigantea.*	
Gue,	*ghī*, clarified butter.	

4. Marshall is describing the Seychelles cocoanut brought up occasionally by sea currents to the Indian coast. It is the "double cocoanut" which is much valued and is sometimes made into begging bowls by Indian religious mendicants. (R. C. T.)

5. *Ghāo pāt*, wound-leaf, Marshall's "Ghow paut," is the *Kalanchae Laciniata* or "Leaf-seed," the leaves of which when placed on moist ground take root and produce young plants. Marshall is correct as to its efficacy as an emollient. See Dymock, *Pharmographia Indica*, i. 590.

6. (*a*) This remedy is of the nature of a charm, and should perhaps come under Folklore.

11. (*c*) On *nirmalī*, Marshall's "Nermalee," Dutt (p. 200) remarks, *s.v. Strychnos potatorum*: "The use of these seeds for the purpose of clearing muddy water is as old as Suśruta. Medicinally it is generally used as a local application in eye-diseases."

14. By "Maucaud (Maucaul) or Narranie oyle" Marshall may mean *Madhyama Nārāyana taila*, the constituents of which are given by Dutt, p. 261. Or he may be referring to two different

oils "Maucaud" (probably identical with "Maucaul oyle" mentioned below) and Nārāyana oil. "Maucaud, maucaul" perhaps represents *mākal*, the pounded fruit of *Tricosanthes palmata* (see Watt, *s.v.*) blended with oil.

Bollaut (*bālātailā*) oil is an oil prepared from a decoction of *Sida cordifolia* mixed with milk and Sesamum oil. See Dutt, p. 121; Watt, S. 1694.

19. The term "Rais de Joan Lopis" for Cinchona, Peruvian or Jesuits' bark, is interesting, and is the only instance that has been discovered. In 1638 the Countess de Chinchon, after whom the bark was named, was suffering from fever and ague at Lima. The corrigidor of Loxa, Don Juan Lopez de Canizaries, sent a parcel of quinquina to her physician, and this effected her cure. See Balfour, *Cyc. of India*, *s.v.* Cinchona, and Sir Clements Markham's *Peruvian Bark*, p. 10, where, however, the name is given as Francisco instead of Juan Lopez.

23. See Hamilton, *East Indies*, i. 394, for a similar remark.

24. For the history of the term "kill," in the sense of "destroying the active quality of," see the *O.E.D.*, where quotations are given from 1613-1881.

XI

FOLKLORE (INCLUDING HISTORICAL NOTES, LEGENDS AND STORIES, NATURAL HISTORY, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS)

A. Charms

1. CHARME TO HINDER MEN FROM BEING ANGRY

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

In an Alligators head is a little bag of gelly. This taken out and dryed will be like a powder, which worne about a man, shall prevent any person before whome hee shall come from being angry with him. Also the oyle of a Tyger is good for ditto, if rubbed upon the face. These and the like are used by the Indians.

2. [CHARM] TO CAUSE MONEY TO STAY BY A MAN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

Take a Rupee or other peece [of silver] and bury in the mouth of a frog, which bury in the ground alive. Then at midnight take up this frog and money, and that money will never leave you, but always be brought or conveyed to you againe.

3. MONEY HID

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

In India, when they hide money, they Sacrafice to the Devill, and no man can carry away that money that doth not sacrifice more than was sacrificed at the hideing of it.

4. CHARMES AND TRICKS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 10a.

Tis reported That some of the Hindoos have strainge charmes, as some to make a knife (though never so sharp) that it shall not cut; fire (though never so hot) not to burne. Also to charme a man so that hee shall not feele anything, although a man should cut his flesh never so much. This last I had from an Arminian.

Some say they have charmes whereby, after describing a circle upon the ground, cut the ground within that circle, and there shall be good iron under it.

This I had from an English man, who said hee spoke with one English man who see these 2 following tricks at Docca [*sic ?* Dacca] (*vizt.*) That a man went up on the end of a Pole which another had in his hand, and when at the top, the pole was taken away and yet the man fell not, but hovered in the air, and after a while his head fell, after that his arms, and so by pieces till all was fallen, and then the man joyned together and rose up well. Th'other That a man held a clew of thred, and another took hold of one end and flew so far into the air till had run it all out and then came down.

5. SHEARCERREE CHARME

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23a.

Tis reported that the little topple [crest, tuft] sometimes found upon the top of a Lyons head, called Shearcerree [*sher*, *sirhī*], if a man weares it upon the top of his head with his hat or sash [turban], that no man shall have power to hurt him, but will be afraid of him whilst in his presence.

6. PEEPULL KA PAUT [*pīpal kā pāt*] CHARME

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24.

If a man desire that his friend should stay with him, or returne to him againe when gone, if hee sticks the branch of a Peepull tree or the leaves thereof over his door, the wind will shake them and his friend shall never be contented in mind till returne againe thither. But there be certaine words to be said and [*sic ?* at] the sticking up of the branch or leaves, which are to be writ upon them before [it] will be effectuall.

B. Magic Squares

7. CHARME OF 15

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 30.

6	7	2
1	5	9
8	3	4

This taken any ways makes 15, which I have made, which suppose to be the same which said Bramin told me would open any lock, if writ upon a paper, and with that paper strike upon the lock. The Bramin could not then remember it.

8. CHARME OF 20

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 28a.

2	9	2	7
6	3	6	5
8	3	8	1
4	5	4	7

This writ upon the left hand with Turmerick [*haldī*] or wale [?] or like and then washed of with water, and that water drunk after hath beene bit with a Snake, the poyson of the Snake will have no force. This taken any wayes makes 20.

9. CHARME OF 34

Harl. MS. 4255, fols. 29-30.

9	16	2	7
6	3	13	12
15	10	8	1
4	5	11	14

The Hindoos have many charmes, amongst which is this following. This figure taken any ways make 34 whose significations are as follow, *vizt.*—9, the Earth; 16, the Moone; 2, the Sun and Moone; 7, the Seaven Seas; 6, a child before named; 3, Heaven; 13, the 13 chiefe things, *vizt.*, Man, World, Chaunk [*sankh*, conch] shell, the Mind, a flower, Cow, Elephant, Moone, Sunn, Dragons head, Dragons tayl, the Stars, Saturne; 12, the Sun beames; 15, Severall houses; 10, a man with 10 heads; 8, so many sorts of snakes; 1, God; 4, the foure quarters of sky; 5, the 5 great Rojas; 11, Dragons tayle; 14, the 7 Skyes; and 7 Earths.

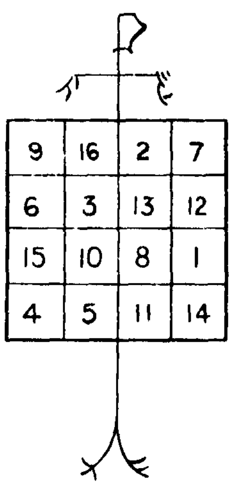
These figures writ thus is the greatest of all their Bideas [*vidyā*, knowledge], and if writ upon paper and put in a lamp of Cerway [*karuā tel*, mustard-seed oil]

or other oyle and rouled in a week [wick] of clout or cotton and lighted, will scare away the Devell [evil spirit which "possesses" human beings] from any one possessed with him, being lighted before the party possessed and the name Devill [the name of the particular godling invoked] writ under the figures. Also you may write it upon the ball of your left hand and reade it and then aske the Devill any question when comes from the possessed, and hee will answer you. Also so writ and turned towards any witch or spirit or Devill, and they will not stay neare you.

Also against enimies, tis good if writ upon left hand and under it the name of your enimie, and upon his name put some ashes or dust and blow of[f] againe, and your enimies will cease. Also if writ in your hand and your enimies name under it, and with that hand eat your victualls, and if your enimie be in sight of you and eat any victualls, his belly will swell and hee will be sick. Also these figures thus writ and the name devell writ under it in your hand, then shut your hand and the Devill [the spirit invoked] will appeare to you, if desire it. Then you may open your hand and reade the figures and ask him any Question and hee will answer you.

If a man that is bewitched take these 16 figures and write downe in this manner, and put into water, and drink of that water, [he] shall presently [immediately] be well againe. Also, if a man be malancholy and look but upon this, hee will presently be merry againe. Tis also good against poison inwardly, or the poison of Serpents &ca. This [is] also good to digest victualls if writ upon the hand with which eat victualls. [? This is] their best charme.

These figures thus writ and the shape of a man put in the middle, as here above, and rowled up from 9 towards 14, so that the mans head will be uppermost and his feet below—haveing writ your enimies name below the figures—then burne the paper so rowled, being put into cotton or a cloth rowled up and made a weake [wick] of and burnt in a Lamp, and your enimies will be sick.



9	16	2	7
6	3	13	12
15	10	8	1
4	5	11	14

Also thus writ and the Devill writ upon the top of the figures, and keep the paper in your hand, and hee will come and answer you any thing.

This writ in right hand, when fight, will be sure to conquer.

This is good for every thing and against all evell things what ever, and is esteemed the highest of all the Hindoos Magick. This, with all before, had from Ramnaut Bramin [Rāmnāth, Brāhman] at Modufferpore [Muzaffarpur] nere Mossee [Maisī] in Hindostand.

10. CHARME OF 50

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 29.

17	24	2	7
6	3	2[illegible]	20
23	18	8	1
4	5	19	22

This writ upon a paper and under it the name of any woman you desire to embrace. Hold the paper in your hand towards her when she is going from you, and shee will returne and come to you.

Also these figures thus writ on a paper and under it the name of any child that is very froward and constantly crying, then sewed about the childs neck, the child will leave crying.

Also when you go to fight, write this in your hand and read it 3 or 4 times before begin to fight, and then you will overcome.

These taken any wayes make 50.

11. CHARME OF 62

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 32.

23	30	2	7
6	3	27	26
29	24	8	1
4	5	25	28

The Hindoos have these following figures placed as here, So that if a man write this and keepe in his hand, hee shall never be wounded, nor shall any thing be capable of hurting him; also if a bullet hit him it shall not enter his body. These figures taken in a right line any ways make 62.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 28a.

These if thus writ upon the hand left, and under them the name of his enimie, and upon that name put some ashes or (for want thereof Dust) and blow away the dust or ashes, and your enimies will cease. Tis good against any thing that is bad.

12. CHARME OF 72

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 29.

28	35	2	7
6	3	32	31
34	29	8	1
4	5	30	33

These figures writ thus and put upon a peece of paper, and then take one or 2 peppercorns and chew in the mouth, and then write under the figures the name of your

enimie, and as [you] chew the peppercornes, blow upon your enimies name upon a Sunday or Tuesday, and continue so for 7 or 8 times, and your enimies malice will effect nothing upon you, but some bad thing will fall upon himselfe, which when happens, you maye desist from using it more. These taken any wayes make 72.

13. CHARME OF 100

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 29.

This is for 3 things, *vizt.*,

(1) Writ 45 times over in severall papers, and in each the name of your enimie writ, and cast these papers into the river and your enimies will cease.

42	49	2	7
6	3	46	45
48	43	8	1
4	5	44	47

(2) This writ in your hand and under it the name of the person you desire should love you, and it will do it.

(3) Also this writ in a paper and tyed about your right arme above your elbow and no shot will hit you.

These taken any wayes make 100.

C. Aphrodisiacs

14. WORME CHARME

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

[There is] A little worme, which in Huglie is called Luckera-ka-kera [*lakrī-kā-kīrā*, wood-fretter] from its living in wood. Tis about 1½ inch long, not much unlike a Silkworme. This touched upon the back

with a mans finger, or any thing else, controcteth itselfe into a very narrow space; the back of it is hard. This worme being cut into two peeces, the one will stirr and the other not. This that stirreth, the Portugees whores bruise and take the blood [? juice] of it, and take a Beetle nut and cut it into two peeces or halfes. This blood [is] mixed with one of the halfes of the Beetle nut and [is] given to a man to eat with beetle. And the whores, taking the other halfe of the worme and other halfe of the beetle nutt and [*sic*] wrap it over with horse hair (speaking some certain words).

[Then] the man that did eat the same beetle before mentioned shall never be capable of having the carnal knowledge of any woman but her, so long as shee keeps the other part of the Nut and worme; but if shee gives it to him hee may: but if shee throw it away, hee shall never be capable of lying carnally with her or any woman else. This is reported upon good grounds, for some Dutchmen have knowne it by experience.

D. Good and Bad Luck

15. CORNEBEPAUK

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25.

The Hindoos book they call Cornebepauk [*karma (karam) be pāk*] which signifies to cleanse [?] the bad fortune, wherein is writ severall beasts, birds, summes of money, flowers &ca. And they say, if a man be sick, poor, or the like, if they prick [indicate by pricking at random] in this book amongst the leaves and give what is writ in the leaves where prick, shall have what they want. But if you stand not to it, then

'tis bad, and your misery will increase. And if stand to it, the charge will be perhaps great and sometimes light, to be an Elephant or 100,000 Rupees.

16. HINDOOS 7 DAYS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

They say tis good to undertake a jorney to the East on Sunday, to the West on Munday, Fryday or Saturday, To the South on Tuesday or Wednesday, and to the North on Thursday.

17. PERSIAN 6 BAD DAYES EVERY MONTH

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 6.

The Persians say That the 3, 8, 13, 18, 23 and 28th dayes after they see the New Moon are unfortunate Dayes, not accompting that day on which they see the New Moon for the first [time], but the morning after the first from which the Account cometh; and on these dayes they say tis not good to undertake any work.

E. Witchcraft

18. [CHARMS] AGAINST WITCHCRAFT

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25.

(1) Take the blood of a Musk rat, and therewith dip or roule a cotton thread or string, and when any witch comes to pass over it and strides over it, shee will presently [immediately] fall downe, and when gets up will pull up her coats to the middle.

(2) Take a Snake (of that sort that hath 2 heads) and kill it, and into its mouth put a little dirt, and after it cotton seeds, and then hang up the Snake in

your chamber, and all the chamber will seemé full of Snakes, which the witch will feare.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

(3). Take Quicksilver and put it into a quill, which stop with wax. This put under the head will keep a man from being bewitched.

F. Omens

19 [SIGNES TO] CONQUER ENIMIES

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 6.

If a man, when going to fight with his enimies and his right nostrill be open and cleare so that he breaths well thorow it, he will beat his enimie, but if shut and cannot well breath thorow it, then hee will be beaten; and if both nostrills be open and cleare, then he will kill his enimie; if both be shutt tnen will not fight, or if fight, be killed.

20. SIGNES OF GOOD FORTUNE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16.

If from the joynt of the Elbow to the end of the long finger be longer than from the joynt within the knee to sole of foot, then a signe of good fortune.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16a.

If when a man stands upright and his fingers reach to his knee and his arme also be longer than his leg as before, then hee will be very fortunate.

21. SIGNES OF DEATH

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 6.

The Bamins [Brāhmans] say That if a man puts his right hand behind him under his left arme and cannot

then see it, or his left hand under his right arme and cannot see it, then hee will in few dayes dy.

Also when a man cannot see his nose (if not blind) will dy in 4 or 5 dayes.

Let a man hold the ends of his thumbs and fingers together so that his right hand thumb end be placed against the Left hand thumb end, forefinger to forefinger, ringfinger to ringfinger and little finger to little finger, and bend each long finger within the hand, placing the knuckles on the middle joynts of the long fingers together, and keepe them close. Then any man may open his thumbs, keeping his other fingers close. But if he can open his two ringfingers and keep his other fingers ends close, and the knuckles of his long fingers close, then that man will not live above 4 or 5 dayes at the most.

Also if a man be sick and his right nostrill be stopped, then he will suddenly die.

G. Incantations

22. [CHARM] TO MAKE A VISION APPEARE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

In India, when women burne alive with their husbands, the cloth that is tyed about them is tied before on a hard knot, which, with the rest of the cloth, is all rubbed with Turmerick when the women burne; and the rest of the cloth will presently [quickly] burne, but the knot not so suddenly.

Therefore take that knot out of the fire, and at any time take a peece of this knot and open it, and with [a] peece of it make the week [wick] of a lamp, and put it into the skull of a dead man or woman. Fill the

skull with oyle, and put this week into it and light it, and the likeness of this woman (whose clout it was) will appeare in the roome.

23. TO KNOW WHAT BEAST MANS SOUL ENTERS INTO AFTER GOES HENCE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22.

The Hindoos pretend to know into what creature a mans soule will go into after death by this way, *vizt.*: In that place of the ground upon which a man is laid upon when first dies, strow it with flower of wheat or any other graine (after the corps is carried away to be burnt or buried), and upon the flower set a basket, which let stand 2 or 3 houres. Then lift up the basket, and upon the flower you will see the impression of the foot of some beast or the hand of a man, &ca., which is the beast or man into which the Soule of the deceased man went. But if there be no such impression, then the said soule will be gone to God and will not againe returne into any body. This I have heard to be affirmed both by Moores [Muhammadans] and Hindoos to bee true, they having made the experiment.

I. Human Beings

24. EUNUCHS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

Eunuchs are observed never to be bald, nor to be troubled with the Gout.

J. Death

25. TREE OF DEATH

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

In India is a Tree, any part of which, if a man breaks, he presently [immediately] dies.

K. Astrology

26. CHARLES'S WAINE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 10a.

a* b*
c* d*
e*
f*
g*

In the Stars called Charles his waine being represented [in] this maner, neare the star *e* is a little star, which when a man that is in health cannot in a clear night see, tis reported hee shall within 6 months after dy. It is called the Starr of life.

L. Proverbial Sayings

27. THREE MEN UNFORTUNATE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25a.

(1) That hath 100 rupees and eats his meal without butter.

(2) That hath 1000 rupees and goes on foot.

(3) That hath 100,000 rupees and travels out of his Country.

28. [RIGHT AND LEFT SIDES]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 6.

Men when they rise and walk, they set the right leg formost, but women the left.

Men when they looke on one side, they generally look towards the left hand, and woman towards the right, because mans place is on the right hand (the

woman towards whome hee looks), and womans on the left hand (the man towards whome shee lookes).

*Doctors feele on a mans pulse upon the right hand, but upon a womans upon the left.

29. SIX REMEDIES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 24a.

Against the Fire (1) Water. Against heat of Sun is a house or (2) Cover over head. Against the madness of an Elephant, an (3) Unkus [*ānkus*] or hook to guide him. Against horses, dogs, &ca. (4) A Chawbuck [*chābuk*] or good whip. Against Sickness (5) Physick. Against Poison (6) a Charme. But to reclaime or make wise a Fool [there] is no remedie.

30. WOMANS BEAUTIES COMPARED

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24.

Her face like the Moon, Deers eyes, and gate like an Elephant.

31. WOMANS INCONSTANCY

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24.

Witness the Story of the Blacksmith's wife and the fuckeer.

32. FIVE DARTS OF WOMAN

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21.

1. To see a woman go her gate.
2. To see her neck and breast bare.
3. To see her look upon a man and turn away againe.
4. To see her smile upon a man and turne away.
5. To see her in fine clothes.

33. THREE GOOD THINGS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 33a.

Bamins [Bāhman, Brāhman] prefer 3 things before all other, *vizt.*, to ly with women, To Ride, To drink milk. The Mogulls say the 3 best things are flesh, *vizt.*, To ride upon flesh, To eat flesh, and To ly with flesh.

34. SKY COLOUR, GREENE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17a.

They say that Sky colour is an equall mixture of all colours alike, and that the wind is greene, for nothing will be greene without it.

35. SALVES BEFORE WOUNDS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 30.

The Arabians have a saying That God made Salves before made wounds.

M. Historical Notes, Legends and Stories

36. TIMMERLUING

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 4a.

Mamidarif [Mahmūd 'Ārif] and Sidd Jaffer [Saiyid Ja'far], Moormen [Muhammadans], Say that Tammerlin is in their language called Timmerlung [Tīmūr Lang], but his name was Timmer [Tīmūr], and by reason that he was lame, the Persians and Moores called him Timmerlung, lung [*lang*] signifying lame.

Hee had a very great armie, but went into Turky with a few Soldiers, and being neare the Great Turks Court, hee fained himselfe very Sick and sent to the Great Turk to acquaint him that hee would have

waited upon him but that hee was very Sick, and did not expect to live long, but would gladly see him before hee died. Soe the Great Turk went to see him.

When he came at Timmerlungs dore, hee desired the Great Turk not to let any of his attendants come in with him, by reason hee was so dangerous sick, and they would disturb him. Besides hee had some private busines to impart to him. Thereupon hee sent away all his attendants and went in to Timmerlung who, when hee had him alone, sent for some soldiers which hee had ready who, when the[y] came, Timmerlung told the Turk that being he was not able to conquer him by armes in the field, hee was resolved to do it in some wayes; therefore told the Great Turk if hee would not sweare to him to do somthing by which Timmerlung might be forever talked of, hee would kill him.

So the Great Turk promissed that hee would, and bid him ask what hee would. So Timmerlung made him sweare to make a Law and observe it, That none of the Turkes should ride with a Crooper on their horse tales nor ride with a whip in their hands, which the Great Turk swore too; after which Timmerlung set the Great Turk at Liberty. Timmerlung is to this day called by the Great Moores only Timmer.

37. TURKMAN WHY CALLED SO

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25a.

Tamerlung [Tīmūr Lang] which conquered the great Turk, carried him before the King of Persia, who said "Turkman," *i.e.*, "Let him go," since which they were called Turks.

38. [A STORY OF] ALEXANDER

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 30.

The Moors [Muhammadans] say That Alexanders father was a Chowdry [*chaudhurī*] and paid yearly to the King severall gold egs, who when dyed, hee demanded of Alexander the same tribute of gold Egs, who sent the King word That the hen that laid them Egs was dead and hee was Alexander, therefore would lay him none.

39. ROJA OSOMANGES [RĀJĀ ASAMANJAS]

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 13a.

Tis reported hee never touched the ground, esteeming it unworthy to beare him. Hee esteemed none his equall; he fought with the King of India but was over come.

40. [KHATMANDU RĀJĀ]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25.

The Rojas name at Cautmondoo [Khatmandu] is Purtaupmull [Pratāp Mal]; his at Pautun [Pāthan] is Nevasmull [Nivās Mal] and his at Bautgowne [Bhatgāon] is Purcosmull [Prakās Mal].

41. GREAT MOGULLS COJANNA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26.

Mamood harrif [Mahmūd 'Ārif] saith that he hath received a late Account of Orungzeeb [Aurangzēb], the King of India, or the great Mogull, his Cojanna [*khazāna*], or Treasure, and there was in it but 11 Corore [*karor*] of Rupees or 110,000,000 Rupees, which at 2s. 3d. per Rupee amount to in Sterling 123,750,000 *li.*

42. JOUGEE ECKBAR [A *jogī* and Akbar]

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 31-31a.

The Moores say that in King Eckbur's [Akbar's] raigne there was a Jougee [*jogī*] or Hindoo Fuckeer [*faqīr*] who, flying towards Jaggarnaut [Jagannāth] and being over the Kings Pallace, seeing it such a pleasant place, lighted there and fell asleep upon the top of the Tarrast [terrace]. When a sleepe let fall out of his mouth a ball of Quicksilver, by which hee flew. The King going to his Maul [*mahal*], where his women were, found this Jougee lying upon his Tarrast neare his Maul a sleepe, and found by his side his Quicksilver ball, which hee took up and kept in his hand, for hee knew wherefore it was (being well read in the Hindoo bookes and understanding most of their tricks).

Hee awakened the Jougee and asked him wherefore he durst come so neare his Maul, who answered that as hee was flying over the pallace, seeing it a very pleasant place, lighted there but hee had not medled with any of his women and, missing his Quicksilver ball, desired the King to give it to him againe, without which hee could not fly; but the King would not, but kept him to teach him some tricks. The Jougee told the King hee would [? could] take his own soule out of his body and put it into any body else &ca., which the King for tryall sent for a Deer and bid the Jougee put his soule into it, and command the Deers soul into the Jougees body, which hee did. Then the King bid the Jougee put the Kings soule into the Deers and the Deers into his, which hee did, and a while after rechanged againe. When the King was

satisfied in the truth of this (having experimented it by going into the Deers body himselfe), [he] was very angry and afraid of the Jougee and caused him presently to be killed, which was accordingly done. Immediately after which the King was extreamely altered, and all his life long after lived a retired life, which was for about 10 or 11 yeares, and as to all his disposition hee was perfectly altered, and any that went to him would not have knowne by his discourse or actings that hee was the same man as before. So that the Moores say That when hee ordered the Jougee to be killed, that the Jougee changed soules with the King, so that it was the Kings soule that was gone, and the Jougees soule remained in the King.

43. JUSTICE AT PEGUE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5.

Mr. [Christopher] Hatton Saith that at Pegu they have in their Bookes one story of 2 women going to wash together with each of them a child, which they laid by the river side whilst they went in. When they were in the River, an Alligator came and carried away one child, soe the women quarrelled for the child which was left. Soe the Judge, to decide the controversi[e], commanded the one to take hold of the head and the other of the heeles of the child, and bid them pull for it. So the one pulled hard, but the other, hearing the Child cry, gave way and let it goe. So the other woman was going away with the Child, but the Judge recalled her, and told her since shee had no more compassion of the child but to let it cry and still to pull it, she could not be its mother, so gave the child to the other woman.

44. DRUNKENNESS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 21.

A Drunkerd meet the Mogul king riding upon an Elephant and asked him if hee would sell his Elephant, who bid him come to him next day and hee would tell him. So next day hee sent for him and asked him if hee would by [buy] his Elephant and [*sic*, ? as he] said the day before, who told him that hee never intended it, but drunkenness would then have bought him, but now drunkenness, whose broker he was, was gone, so hee might seek a chapman for his Elephant.

45. ? AUGULL

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 11.

Mamidarif [Mahmūd 'Arif] saith that about 14 Course [*kos*] from Pattana, about 4 years since, 14 people met at a musceet [*masjid*] when, being very stormy and rainy, they all went into it. After a while it lightned much by the doore of the Musceete and the lightning hovered over the doore, so they said each to the other that there was some wicked person amongst them whome God had a mind to destroy, and not them all. So they agreed that one by one they should all goe out and touch a tree before the Musceet, and if they returned safe they were not the persons. So one goes out to the tree and returned into the Musceet safe againe, and so the 2d, 3d, and so 13. When onely one was left, hee was unwilling to go out, being if there were one wicked man amongst them and all the rest had cleared themselfe[s], [it must be he]. But the other 13 forced him out. So hee went to the tree, and returning back againe found all

the rest, (*vizt.*) 13, dead. And hee afterwards went about his business.

46. HINDOOS JUSTICE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 20a.

At Mugdmulut [? Magadh mulk] (not far from Pottana [Patna]) lived long since a Braminie [Brāhman] whose name was Keso [Kesū], who had one only daughter which he resolved to marry to that man of his Cast which was the Godliest. At one time came together 3 Braminies to Court the Bramins daughter, each in expectation to obtaine her, but all being alike vertuos, or seemed so to Keso, so that at present hee could not resolve to which of the 3 to marry his daughter. In the meantime the daughter died, at which they were all exceedingly sorry, and they all 3 went along with her to see her burnt, being usuall for friends so to do. When shee was burning, one of the 3 leapt into the fire to her and burnt with her, after [? so] shee was burnt and one of the 3 Braminies with her.

Another of the Braminies gathers together all their ashes and sit upon them and there resolved to spend the rest of his life.

The 3d Braminie went away and resolved to turne Fuckeer [*faqīr*] or Hermite and wander all the dayes of his life. Hee had wandered a great way and a great while. At length came to a Braminies house, where the Braminie told him if hee would stay there hee should be welcome. Hee had beene there some dayes, and observing the Braminies child to cry, the Braminies wife came to the child, and being very angry took it and threw it into the fire and burnt it,

at which this Fuckeer was so angry that hee left the Braminies house. But the Braminie sent after him to ask him the reason thereof, who answered that it was not good to stay there, being hee had seene the Braminies wife burne her child. At which the Braminy smiled and told him That hee should see the Child alive againe, and taking out a book, read some part of it, at which the child appeared out of the ashes; which that Fuckeer observing, at night he stole from the Braminy that Book and ran away and came to the place where his fellow Bramin was siting upon the other Bramins and Keso's daughters ashes.

Then taking out the Book hee had stolne, and having observed the place where to read, read in it, and presently appeared the Braminy and Kiso's [*sic*] daughter that had bin burnt together out of the ashes.

Then arose a great dispute amongst these 3 Bramins who should marry this young woman, Keso's daughter. The one pleaded hee ought, being hee burnt with her; the other hee ought by reason hee kept her ashes company; and the 3d that hee ought because hee had brought her to life againe.

So the dispute was to be decided by Mugiesorell, the Roja, a Prince there, who said the first should not have her because hee was her brother, being borne out of the ashes with her, neither should the last who was her father who had made her; therefore the second should, who was not related to her, only had kept her ashes company.

47. HINDOO CASE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 24.

A Fuckeer [*faqīr*] having made himselfe so fast to a Tree within a thick wood that could not loose

himselfe, there resolving to spend the remainder of his life in the open air, having neither house nor cloths to cover himselfe with, so people that passed by gave him victualls; but hee asked for none, only eat what was given him. One man passing by him, seeing him destitute of a house, built one over him to keepe of[f] the raine. Another man coming by and seeing him in this condition that could not loose himselfe, pulled downe the house least the fire should take hold of the wood and burne the Fuckeers house and consequently the Fuckeer, who spoke to neither of them.

Quere. Who did good or bad for him, and who to be commended, they contradicting each other? Answer. Both alike, being the intent in both were good alike.

48. MAIRMAIDS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

At Mosambeeque are severall Mairmaids, with whome tis reported the Natives do often ly with when they catch them. Their bones being tied to the wrist of a man is said to stay bleeding in any part of him.

49. SALTNESS OF SEA

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 15a.

Some Hindoos say That the reason the Sea is salt is because Genassee [Agasti], one of Adams sonnes, at one time drank up all the water in the Sea and afterwards pissed it out again, which made it salt.

O. Natural History

50. ELEPHANTS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5a.

Mr. Hatton saith, Elephants when they Gender, the Male gets upon the female as a horse doth a mare, and puting his yard under the females belly hee bends it back againe (it having a joynt in it about $\frac{1}{3}$ part from the end), which he puts into the female into that part which distinguisheth her sex, which lies under her belly; which was a wonder formerly how they should engender, some affirming it was as woman to man, and others that the female kneeled down, &ca.

Elephants are very nimble creatures. When they are taken, being pent in a narrow place and ropes thrown abour [*sic*, about] their necks, they will stand upon their hind feete and with their fore feete unloose the rope, by puting their fore feet behind their necks as a Catt will. They will shuffle a great pace as fast as some horses will gallop.

51. LITTLE OXEN IN PATTANA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

There are in Pattana little oxen [*gainā*] which draw Coaches, which are about 27 inches high at the shoulder and 36 inches long, which will go (with one man to drive them and one in the Coach) 20 or 30 days together, 20 or 25 miles every day. They are bought for 4 or 5 rupees per pare, the best sort of them.

52. GOATS GREAT

I have also seene Goats of 30 inches high at the shoulders.

53. COSTAREKA MURG FROM BOTTON

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19.

Costureka Murg [*kastūrī kā mrig*, musk of deer] or Muskcats are about 12 or 14 inches high, have little hornes and 2 great teeth stick out like hogs or [? boars] tosses [tusks]. [It is reported that] they have no joynts in their leggs, so that when they are downe, cannot get up againe, by which means they are taken, for the inhabitants neare them cut the trees against which they think these beasts will leane when they sleep, so that when they come to leane against the trees they give way, and the beasts or Deer fall. So the people take and kill them and eat their flesh, and cuting of[f] their Navills, which is that which wee call the Cods, sell them.

These beasts or Deer are most at Botton [Bhūtān, Tibet], about 200 Course [*kos*] from Neopoll [Nepāl] or Neeball to the North, upon the Tartarian hills or Caucosus, being about 290 Course North from Pattana.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 20a.

The Musk Deer in Button are plentifull all over. The report of having no joynts in their legs is false, for they have as other Deer. Both Male and Female have Musk in their Navills, and both long teeth or tosses [tusks] sticking out of their mouths.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22.

Musk Deer are killed with Guns and dogs, and the flesh good, and their Navell, when taken, is full of gored blood, not at all smelling, but when put into [the] Sun or [a] dry place for 10 dayes, then it grains and smells sweet, which they bind up and sell.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19.

These beasts, the Males of them, have 2 Codds, which generally is full of a thin substance like whey, and in the Navell lies the seed, which is the pure Musk. The Females have none in their Navills; neither have the males untill they bee almost at their [full] growth. These Deer will run very fast.

The word Musk comes from Mussuck [Pers. *mushk*], which comes from Must [*mast*], which signifies the Nature or Seed of Man or beast. Tis also used in speech for lust, or rampant.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 14a.

Tis observed in Patrana That those Merchants that keepe Musk in their houses and roomes where they ly [lie] are short lived, and that it dries up the seed and naturall heate in man and makes him impotent in few years; but it doth not any hurt to woman.

54. COEE OR JACKATRA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18.

The Coa or Jackatra in India is much like a Crocodile, but is not above 8 or 10 inches high, though some 3 foot long. Tis reported that if it bites a man [which it will not do except hurt by him], it presently [immeditely] hastens to the water, at which, if it comes before the man, the man presently dies, but if the man gets to the water before it, it presently dies. This Coee will also blow upon a man at a great distance, after which a man will swell, and in few dayes time, die.

55. GOSOMPH

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

Gosomph [*gohsânp* lizard-snake] is a creature much in shape like a Lizard, but about ¾ or a yard long, and

about ½ yard thick. It hath 4 feet. If it sees a man, it will not seize upon [him] but avoid him, but if a man strike or vex it, it will (if it can) bite him, and then will with all hast run into the water; and if it get into the water before the man, the man will presently [immediately] dy, but if the man get into the water before it, it presently dies.

56. CUTCHOA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

The fish [reptile] Cutchoa [*kachhwā*, tortoise, turtle], aboundance of which I see by Mungere [Munger, Monghyr]. Tis like a Turtle, hath 4 feet with kind of finns and nails on them. They are Gibbus [gibbous, convex] on their back and hard and greene, and on their belly hard and white; their head like a Moale, little long nose and sharp teeth, yellow and cleare eyes. They can thrust out their necks a long way and draw them in againe. They eat dead men, and some of the Hindoos eat them. I see a washerman had got one of them, which hee was carriing home to eate.

57. SWORD FISH

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16a.

A Sword fish was taken by the teeth in a Net against Huglie Factory. The fish was about 3 yards long, besides his sword, which when cut out was 3 foot 10 inches long, 8 inches broad at one end and 3½ inches broad at the other. The teeth were very sharpe in the sword and were about 2 inches long. In the sword were 19 inches on one side, and 17 on the other. The fish was very thick. I conceive he was as much about the middle as his length was. His belly was

full so that hee was unweildy, and was held by the teeth in his sword, some of which hee broake.

58. SNAKES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 8a.

There are Snakes [boa-constrictors] upon the Hills by Rojimaul [Rājmahal], and also by Neopoll [Nepāl] which are 20 and 30 yards long, will suck a Cow into their bellies. They ly in the woods and will suck with the aire any creatures which come within a great distance of them.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

A Fuckeer told mee that neare Neopoll hee see a Snake of 20 Guz [*gaz*, yard] long, and that by report there were many much biger.

59. BYA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22.

A Bird in India called Bia [*bayā*, weaver-bird], a little bird [which] builds her nest upon a tree and makes it to hang so that it hangs but by 2 or 3 Strawes. Tis made tapering, being about a foot long, narrow at the top and very great at the bottome or lowest end, at least as big as a mans fist.

This bird makes her hole at the bottome, and makes within 2 roomes, one within another. In the one shee sits, and in the other puts her young when hatched. Shee in the night gets little glow flies (there being aboundance in most of these parts). This fly the bird sticks its head fast in the dirt within the Nest that shee may by its light see if any thing come to disturbe her young.

60. GREENE PIGEONS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26.

In Hindostand are great numbers of Harrealls [*hāriyal*] or Pigeons which are Greene and yellow, which live upon a sort of trees which are called Peepull [*pīpal*] trees and feed upon the Berries thereof. Tis reported by many (nay I have heard no man contradict it) that they never sit nor tread upon the ground, but only fly from tree to tree, and when they drink they light upon some peece of wood or some sedge or the like that is in the water or by the waterside, and never sit upon the Earth.

The leaves of the Peepull trees are in colour so like the Pigeons, that though they sit upon the trees in very great flocks, tis hard to see one of them, the leaves constantly quavering, and they siting as it were under them. I have shot severall of them and eaten of them; their meat is excellent good.

61. SNIPES, ROBIN REDBREASTS AND WAGTAYLES

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 6.

In Singee [Singhiyā], neare Pattana, in winter time are Snipes, wagtailes and Robbin redbreasts, the 2 former like those in England, the latter larger.

62. PUPEA

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 22a.

(Pupea) [*papīhā*] is a bird that sings excellent well, its note is *Pucka kī*, *i.e.* Where is my love?

63. FLIES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 9.

At Johnabad [Jahānābād] and thereabouts there are little flies [eye-flies] which in the day time are

perpetually flying neare a mans eyes, so that hee must be perpetually beating and scareing them away, which is a great trouble. They are exceeding small, not a 3d part so big as a Moskeeta [mosquito], and are round, not long.

64 ARBOR SENTITA

An herbe in India called Arbor Sentita [the Sensitive Plant, *Mimosa pudica*], whose leaves when a man toucheth, they will presently close, and open no more whilst the person is neare which touched it.

P. Manners and Customs

65. BURYALL

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 6.

There is one sort of Hindos that bury, and they bury their dead Siting in the Grave with his face towards what hee worshiped ; and some throw [them] into the rivers with their feete from the place from whence they came, giving them a thrust forward, intimating that they will returne no more, but go to another place.

66. BURNING

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 7.

Some of the Hindos, when they burne their dead, they ly [lay] them upon their belly, upon a pile of wood, and put salt and rice upon the Ground at every corner of the pile, and the nearest of the relations of the deceased carryeth upon their shoulders a pot of water which hath a little hole in it, and runeth round about the deceased as hee burneth, the water runing out of the put [*sic* ? pot] upon the ground. And one other of the relations of the deceased standing by

[and] ever as the person with the pot of [water] cometh by him, he, with a little iron or wood, striketh a hole in the pot, so when the pot hath bin carryed 7 or 8 times round about the burning corps, the person standing by striketh the pot with great force and breaketh it. After which the relations of the deceased wring their hands together and embrace each other with most hidious howlings and cryings; after which they wash themselfes and returne to their owne houses. And if the person deceased was rich, then his relations send the ashes to be cast into some holy River, as Ganges &ca., or else, if neare, in to the sea.

67. WOMEN BURNING

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 7.

Some of the Hindo women having no children by their husbands, when they die will leap in to the fire in which their husbands are burnt, and so burne with them, haveing first oyled their bodies very much and taken leave of their friends. But it is credibly reported that the Braminies [Brāhmans] give the women somthing to intoxicate them and keepe them from weeping for the d[e]ath of their husbands, and so perswade them to burne in token of their constancy to their husbands. If they can cry, they are not to be burnt, but if they cannot cry and are not willing to be burnt, then the relations of the deceased man will stone her or some wayes contrive her death, or however, weary her of her life by ill usage.

Many women have bin burnt in this manner, and some have by force bin rescued by the English when they have bin ready to be burnt, who have afterwards [been] very thankfull for the saving of their lives.

68. CHERAUKUSH

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 7a.

There is a custome in Persia in one place, That upon a certaine time of the yeare all the men and women meet at a great feast, where being met together, both men and women, and being in a dark roome where lamps burne, on a sudden the lamps are blowne out and every man layes hold of a woman and lies with her, not knowing with whome it is, which possibly may happen to be with his sister or mother.

But some say That hither come only young men and young women who are unmarried, and when the lamps are blowne out, every young man takes a young woman which hee first lights upon and leads her to his house, where hee marries her, having called to the wedding his and her friends and relations.

The time in which this happens is called Cherauk-cush, that is, contented with the lamp, or with that woman hee shall light upon when tis extinct, from 'Cherauk' [*chirāg*], a Lamp, and 'Cush' [*khush*], content.

69. TOMBS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

The Indians, to preserve their Tombs from decay, after whited them with lime or Chana [*chūnā*], which when is well dryed thereon, they take a large smooth stone with which they rub very hard the whole Tomb, diping the stone in water to make the lime moist, and this puts an excellent gloss upon it and preserves it against the rains and heat of the Sun for many years without decay.

70. HINDOOS TEACH[ERS]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5a.

Hindooes never teach children for money, but those they teach they give victualls too, besides their learning, which they esteeme as a guift, so ought not to have any thing for it.

71. INGRATITUDE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 23a.

The Hindoos are very ingrateful, for if a man give them any thing, they will ask and be more urgent for more than they will be before you give them anything. One Hindoo at Singee, a Blacksmith (whose brother died of Famine), being at deaths dore with famine, being scarce able to walk a bow shot, I (rather than see him perish) gave him one Rupee, which is 2s. 3d., for which hee thanked mee, and with that Rupee recovered and got strength, after which (though I accounted not the Rupee which freely gave him, but paid him for what worke hee did for mee the worth of it), yet this fellow would not do any work for mee in a month which hee might do in 2 or 3 houres, though I much entreated him.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XI

Marshall's remarks in this chapter are very valuable for date, as they are apparently the first attempt by an Englishman to collect material regarding Indian folklore. Since his day, however, so much has been done by scholars in this direction that it is only necessary to group his notes under various headings and to add a few brief explanations.

1. Marshall is possibly referring in a confused fashion to the magical properties attributed to crocodile-fat. See Fraser, *Golden Bough*, x. 14; Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 285; and for the protective quality of tiger-fat see Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 8.

4. The marvel of the ladder-climbing and disappearing trick fades into insignificance when compared with these "charmes and tricks."

7-13. Section B (Nos. 7 to 13) deals with Magic Squares, about which much has been written. See Herklots *Qanoon-e-Islam*, pp. 231-253; *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. Nos 402, 537, 686, 785, 1017; ii. No 901; *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. iii. pp 383, 424, 454; 12 S iv. p 87

No. 9, the "Charm of 34," is repeated on fol. 31a of *Harl MS.* 4254, where Marshall adds: "This figure taken any ways make 34, which I suppose to bee their 27 Nachutturs [Nakshatras, see Chapter IX] and their 7 Planets."

No. 11 was also given to Marshall on two different occasions, and serves two different purposes.

14. By "Portugees whores" Marshall means Portuguese half-castes of the "Bandel" or Portuguese settlement at Hūglī, which enjoyed an unenviable reputation at this date. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 191-2 and footnote.

16. See also Chapter IX, No. 94, for "What Dayes good for travell." Lucky and unlucky days are dealt with freely in *Panjab Notes and Queries* and *Things Indian* and in *Folklore of N. India*, where the Persian couplet cited agrees with Marshall's "Hindoos 7 days" except in making Friday an unlucky day for travelling westward.

18. (2). The snake "of that sort that hath 2 heads" is the *domûnhâ* or water snake described by Peter Mundy (ii. 308 and footnote), "vulgarly held to have 2 heads," but which he later found was "not soe."

19. See also Chapter IX, Astrological Notes, Nos. 68, 97, "To know what party will overcome."

21. For a note by Dr. J. F. Fleet on the "ringfinger," the "finger without a name," see *Ind. Ant.* iv. 85.

23. This appears to be a charm to ascertain position in next birth.

27. The first two of these sayings are directed against the miserly. The third alludes to loss of caste entailed by travelling abroad—a superstition which had a strong hold on the populace in Marshall's day. (R. C. T.)

36. Marshall's note on the name Tamerlane is substantially correct. By the "great Turk" he means the Sultan of Turkey contemporary with Tîmûr, *i.e.* Bayizid I (1389-1403), whose army was routed by Tîmûr in 1403 and he himself taken prisoner. But the legend could equally well be fastened on to any other Oriental ruler.

37. This is a fine instance of Indian literary derivation "out of the head." It has no reference whatever to fact. (R. C T.)

38. This is an interesting note, as it would make Alexander an ordinary Indian personage instead of the son of Philip of Macedon. (R. C. T.)

40. This is a short list of Indian ruling chiefs in Marshall's day.

41. For the gross provincial revenue of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Aurangzēb (1656-1707) see Bernier, ed. V. A. Smith, p. 459.

42. In the first part of this story there are allusions to the magical power of flying through the air attributed to the *jogî* and to Akbar's study of Hinduism and partiality for Hindu teachers. The latter part of the story illustrates the doctrine of the "Wandering Soul." (R. C. T.)

43. Christopher Hatton, to whom Marshall was indebted for one of the widely-spread versions of the Judgment of Solomon, had traded for many years between Pegu and the Coromandel Coast before he entered the Company's service in 1670. For a notice of his career in India see Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, ii. 135, n. 4.

46. This is a story to explain "religious merit." (R. C. T.) It is placed at "Mugdmulut" (? Mugdmuluk), probably intended for Magadh mulk, the country of Magadha.

47. This is one of the "riddle" stories of which Indians are so fond. For explanation see *Lalla the Prophetess*, p. 28; *Wide Awake Stories; Legends of the Panjab*, Preface. (R. C. T.)

49. This is the well-known myth about Agasti (Agastya) swallowing the ocean.

50. For other contemporary popular beliefs regarding the breeding of elephants, see Mundy, ed. Temple, ii. 233-4, iii 333; Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 273-4. For a note on Christopher Hatton, see above No. 43.

51. Marshall is describing the dwarf bullock, *gaindā*, the trotting ox of India.

53. Wonderful and varied stories relating to the musk-deer had evidently been told to Marshall, and these he jotted down as received, so that he repeats and contradicts some of his statements. He is wrong in saying that these animals have horns; he underestimates their height and he is ignorant of the fact that it is only the males that have the two long projecting teeth. He also states incorrectly that both males and females secrete musk, and then revises that statement, probably from a more reliable source, as also that regarding their jointless legs, which later on he found to be "false." His reference to the "Tartarian hills or Caucosus" shows that the slopes of the Himalayan range was a *terra incognita* to the English in the seventeenth century.

54, 55. "Coa (Coee) or Jackatra," "Gosomph." Marshall seems to be jumbling several myths together. There are no such words as "Coa" or "Jackatra." His remarks may refer to the *nakra* or small alligator and the *sūs-mār*, dolphin. By "Gosomph" he means *Gohsānp* or *goh*, the lizard-snake, popularly, but erroneously, supposed to be poisonous, between which and the *Bis-khapra* (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Biscopra) there is much confusion of thought.

57. If Marshall is correct as to the "very sharpe" teeth "about 2 inches long" of the sword fish he saw, he must have met with an abnormal specimen, as the teeth, both in the upper and lower jaw of this fish, though innumerable, are in general merely rudimentary.

62. Marshall's "Pupea" is the *papīhā*, the *Cuculus melanoleneos*, also called the *chātak*

65. For burial in a crouched or sitting position, see Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 129.

66. Marshall seems to be describing one of the many devices of preventing the ghost of the deceased from "walking" after death. See *Things Indian*, p. 129.

67. For contemporary accounts of *satī* by eye-witnesses, see Mundy, ed. Temple, ii. 34-6; Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 36-38. See also *Things Indian*, pp 446-52.

71. This seems really to be a matter of custom. The Indian idea is that the man who saves another's life must ever after look after him and keep him in ease and comfort. (R. C. T.)

XII

MUHAMMADANS: LAWS, RELIGION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS: PARSIS

1. MOORES LAW, SHARRA; CUSTOME, TORA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 7a-8.

(*a*) The Moores have just and good lawes for the Sonnes, or whome the father by Will leaves his estate to enjoy it, but the King being irresistable, breakes these Lawes when hee pleaseth and possesseth himselfe of what his Nobles or Umbraws [*'umarā'*] leave after death, but positively against law.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 9.

(*b*) The Moores have a Law which they call Sharra [*shar'*], whereby full evidence ought to be before a man ought to be accused. Also by the Sarra [*shar'*], when any Noble or other person dies, the next relations, according to the law, as brothers, Sisters, &ca., ought to have his estate which hee dyed possessed of. Also when a man is accused of Theft, &ca., it is required to his conviction that there be such a certaine number of witnesses; otherwise by the Law hee ought not to suffer as a Thiefe.

(*c*) There is a Custome amongst the Moores which they call Tora [*torna*, to break], which breaks their Law Sarra, as when Noble men dy, The King taketh

of his estate what hee pleaseth, though contrary to Law, and saith, Is not hee King and may do what hee pleaseth, and therefore will take what hee pleaseth. Also when, before a Nabob [*Nawāb*] or Governor, a person is accused of Theft, although there are not witnesses sufficient required by the Law, yet if the Nabob or Governor are satisfied that the person be guilty or hath a mind that hee shall be punished, hee will say, "Although here is not evidence sufficient for your conviction according to Law, yet you are guilty and shall be punished."

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 25.

(*d*) When a man dies, first his debts are to be paid, then his wife to receive what her parents gave with her, and what remains, to be divided, *vizt.*, the wife to have mor[e] $\frac{1}{12}$ part (besides what before), and the Sonnes to have each twice so much as the daughters. And if no wife or no daughters, then the brother or sisters Children and wifes sister are to share it, and if have no children or relations, then the King takes it all.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 8.

(*e*) The Moores in their Law allow not of any Use or interest for money, So that if a man A. agrees with a man B., and payes him a Summ of Mony upon condition that B. shall let him live in his house for a certaine summe of yeares, after which B. is to deliver A. his principle money againe, and A. to deliver to B. his house againe in such repaire as hee received it. If A. lets out this house for rent, soe that perhaps in many years hee hath received his principle money, for rent, then at the time expired, when A. delivers up

his house to B., B. will not pay him his money according to contract, but deduct so much out of it as hath bin received for rent, saying that A. hath received some or all of his money already, not considering of his having had the use of his money, by which perhaps hee may have gained more than A. by rent. But if A. all the time lives in Bs. house, then B. will, according to contract, pay the money, when it is due, according to contract.

2. MUSSULMEN, 3 SORTS, 2 SORTS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26a.

(*a*) There are 3 names or Sorts of Sheakes [Shaykh] Mussulmen [Musalmāns], *vizt.*, (1) Sedekee [Siddiqī], called so from Abbobackor [Abu Bakr, as-Siddiq, the Very Veracious]. It signifies as much as A pure heart; the word Sheake signifies greate [old]. (2) Usmonne ['Uthmānī], so called from Usmon ['Uthmān]. (3) Farooke [al-Fārūq], called so by [= also called] Hassummer [Hazrat 'Umar], who perceiving that the Mussulmen being but few, the others beat them and made them pray to themselves and not aloud. Therefore Hassummer [Hazrat 'Umar] commanded that the Mussulmen should pray apart from them; whence they were called Farookee [Fārūqī], or people seperated.

(*b*) Of Mussulmen there are 2 Sorts (1) Shea [Shī'a], and (2) Sunnee [Sunnī]. Shea signifies an Enemie [follower, sect]. There are 2 sorts of them, one called by the name of Shea, who say that Allee ['Alī] and Mahomet [Muhammad] were great prophets and the other of the Charriarry [Chāryār, Four Friends] no prophets. And the other sort are called Rofsee

[Rāfidī], who say that the only Allee ['Alī] is a prophet and none of the rest. The Sunnee [Sunnī] say that Mahomet is the greatest prophet and that the Charriarr [Chār Yār] are alike equall[y] inferior to him. The word Sunnee signifies Right [traditional, lawful].

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 11.

(*c*) Mahomet Syad [Saiyid] say Mahomet Greatest prophet.

1. Hazzarat Abbohbockor [Hazrat Abū Bakr].
2. Hazzarat Ummer [Hazrat 'Umr].
3. Hazzarat Usmon [Hazrat 'Uthmān].
4. Hazzarat Allee [Hazrat 'Alī].

Rafsee say Allee greatest and the rest of the 3 Charriar to be no prophets.

Syad say Mahomet the greatest and the 4 Charriar alike in greatness.

The Chorgee [Khārijīya, aliens, schismatics], they say that 3 first Charriar good and Allee bad.

3. MAHUMOOD SYAD, WHENCE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 26a.

(*a*) Mahomet [Muhammad] was a Sheake [Shaykh]. Hee and his daughter Fautoman [Fātima] and her two sonns Hasson [Hasan] and Hussaine [Husayn] were together, and Mahomet desired of God that it might be certainly known which of them and their generations should be the greatest. Therefore God sent his Angell Gabriel [Jībra'īl] to them with a Comul [*kambal*] or mantle who, holding one corner of it himselfe, bid Fautaman hold one corner, and Hassan and Hussaine each of them hold another, and bid Mahomet to go under the middle and stand under it, which shewed that Mahomet was the greatest of them

all. From whence Mahomet called himselfe Syad [Saiyid], which signifies greater; so Gabriel the Angell gave to Mahomet the Mantle and went away.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 11.

(*b*) Abbabockor['s] [Abū Bakr] daughter called Aishaw ['Āyishah] was married to Mahomet.

Huzzarat Usmon [Hazrat 'Uthmān] married Mahomets daughter [Ruqayyah].

Allee ['Alī] married another of Mahomets daughter[s] [Fātima].

Usmon ['Uthmān], when hee had married and buried one of Mahomets daughter[s], hee married another [Umm Kulthūm].

Mahomet's Daughters

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 11-11a.

Mahomet had 4 daughter[s], 3 whereof disposed of as before, and the 4th died before married:—Bibbe [Bībī] Fautmauh [Fātima], married to Aile ['Alī]; Bibbe Rokae [Bībī Ruqayyah], Bibbe Zenab [Zaynab], both married to Usmon ['Uthmān]; Bibbe Umma Culsoone [Bībī Umm Kulthūm], died unmarried.

(*c*) Huzzarat Allee ['Alī] his 2 Sonns, Immom Hasson ['Imām Hasan], Immom Hussaine ['Imām Husayn]. From the last of which came the last of [the] Syads.

Hussains son Immom Zaynull Obdin [Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn], his Sonn Immom Mahummod Backur [Muhammad Bāqir], his sonn Immom Jaffer Saddock [Ja'far al-Sādiq], his son Immom Meusan Cossun [Mūsā Kāzim], his son Immom Allee Russaw ['Alī al-Rizā], his son Meer Syad Hassan [Mīr Saiyid

Hasan], his son Meer Syad Jaffer [Mīr Sayyid Ja'far], his son Meer Mahummod Saudduck [Mīr Muhammad Sādiq], &ca.

Abbockor [Abū Bakr] was the King after Mahomet. After him Ummer ['Umr] was king. After him, Usmon ['Uthmān]. After him, Allee ['Alī].

(*d*) Mouea [Mu'awiya], after Allee ['Alī] dyed, made himselfe King, and had a son called Azeed [Yazīd], who raighned after his fathers death; and after (fearing Hasson and Hussaine), sent them poyson which killed Hasson, but Hussaine lived and fought against Azeed and killed him. And that day in which hee killed Azeed is kept to this day by the Moores, which day they called in Arabick, Assura [Āshūrā], in Persian, Dauhaugh [Daha]. The month in which this day is kept is called in ArabickMohorum [Muharram], the 10 first dayes of which month are kept with the Moores in a merry manner, Azeed [Husayn] being killed on the 10th day [Āshūrā]. The time is usually called Shaw Hussaine [Shāh Husayn] from Hussaine.

4. ADAM [AND] EVE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5a.

Mamidarif [Mahmūd 'Ārif] Saith that The Devill, before hee tempted Adam, hee went to Eve and carried wheat to her and bid her eat; but shee said shee would not except Adam would eat. So shee went along with the Devill to Adam, and the Divill tempted him, and hee eat of the wheat, and after him Eve eate. When Adam had eaten, his lust was stirred up and hee had a desire to ly with Eve, and lay with her, having not before lien with her.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 8.

(*b*) *Memorandum*, 6 *June* 1670. Mamidarif, the English servant, Ketaubut, a Musselman at Pattana [Patna], saith tis writ in some of their Moore Bookes, That at first when God when first he made man, hee brought him before the Angells for them to worship him. But one of them called Azreele ['Azāzīl], not obeying God, who commanded them to worship him, God threw him out of Heaven and hee became a Devill and was then called Ebrees [Iblīs], who afterwards came to Adam and brought wheat to him and told him if hee would eat it, hee would be like to God. Soe Adam did eat of it, and presently [immediately] after, went to stoole, by which hee knew him selfe to bee uncleane, having before not eaten any thing, and therefore never went to stoole. Soe hee took fig leaves and sowed before his privities to cover them, fig leaves then being very broad, which afterwards God made little and cut into severall corners not fit after for that business.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 7a.

(*c*) Tis writ in the Arabian books That nothing is desireable but women, and what they cause desireable, for when the devill went first about to tempt Adam, he proffered him many things which he rejected, and when brought to him gold, Adam sleighted it, but when brought to him Eve, a woman, with her hee was much pleased and accepted of her. So the devill [was] going to carry away the Gold againe, but Adam told him that now hee had got a woman, hee could find use for the gold, which before hee could not.

5. [DISCOURSES BY MUHAMMAD 'ĀRIF]

Harl. MS. 4254, fols. 10-10a.

(*a*) Mamidarif [Mahmūd 'Ārif] saith That People in the world are most of them led on by tradition and little enquire into the reason of things ; as a Shepheard who haveing a desire for his sheepe to follow him, rubs the teeth of one sheepe with Grass or Salt, that sheepe will follow him and all the rest of the flock will follow that sheepe, although they consider not wherefore, nor know wherefore that first sheepe went after the man, not knowing of the sweete hee had received from him. Soe men, some follow one Prophet, some another, not considering the reasonableness of their Tenets, nor knowing what sweet or pleasure that Prophet might have received by it, or out of what designe hee did it, but haveing bin brought up in that way, run headlong after it.

(*b*) Also here being a Custome when any Saint or Godly man dies to lay a white sheete upon his tome, and hang clouts upon the trees over his tombe (the most being buried in pleasant groves where are very great trees), to visit which many people come severall hundreds of Course to visit it and to pray there.' If it should be reported that a Prophets corps were found and the said Ceremony used, People would come from far to visit it and pray by it, not enquiring what Prophet, when hee died, and how came there &ca., to consider of the probability of it, but take it for granted, though there be nothing of truth in it, nor nothing of possibility. Such fools are most men.

(*c*) Also, that severall of the Prophets fathers were Heathens, as Abrahams ['Ibrāhīm] ; and afterwards

their Grand-children come, some to be Christians, some Mahomitans and some heathens againe; soe it pleaseth God to change men in their religion, and irreligion.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 3.

(*d*) Hee [Mahmūd 'Ārif] saith that when man in womans belly first had life (having his heeles hung upward and head downwards), hee desired God to release him out of that condition. Soe God told him if he would live Godlily, as hee should, hee would, and therefore gave man his task what hee should doe and how hee should live, how oft every day hee should pray &ca., and demanded of man a writing for performance thereof, which man gave to him. Soe after 10 Months God released man out of this Condition, and for 9 yeares and 2 months after was soe childish that committed many sins. Soe God made man Debtor for all the things to which hee had subscribed in said writing, and ever as hee performed any thing thereof hee gave him Credit for the same. And afterwards when man had lived out his life, hee cals to man to see his account Ballenced, soe finding that man many dayes had not performed his part, but by Drunkennes, whordom, &ca. was further Debtor still to God, God casts him into hell, there to remaine soe long as hee had bin negligent in performing his part on earth, to receive punishment proportionable to his offences; and afterwards hee is released.

(*e*) Hee [Mahmūd 'Ārif] saith mans heart is like a bright steele [mirror], which in India men make use of to look at their faces with, which must be rubbed and brightned every day, else it rusteth. So mans heart, if hee rubbeth it every day, it will bee bright

and free from filthiness and uncleannes, whereby hee will understand all things clearly; otherwise it will be full of filth and corruption, soe that hee shall scarce be able to distinguish good from evill.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 3a.

(*f*) *Memorandum*. Mamidarif saith further that tis writ in the Arrabick books that God created the Soules which since have bin men, and will be. Hee created all the soules together and put them into three places with wall betwixt them, and then came to them and asked them whence they came and who made them; soe som of them answered, from him, and that hee made them. Soe God was pleased with their answer.

After this God sent the Angell Gabriel [Jibra'īl] to bring him some earth, which when hee offered to take in his hand, the earth spoke to him and bid him in the name of God let that alone, for it would not goe with him. Soe hee went again to God without any earth and told God what it said to him. Then hee sent the Angell Raphaell ['Isrāfīl], who returned with the same answer. Then hee sent the Angell Azeele ['Izrā'īl], which is the Angell that seperates mens soules from their bodies, or death, who offering to take up some of the earth, it spoke to him as before to the other 2 Angells, but hee not regarding it, snatcheth a handfull of it, and carried it to God. But all the rest of the earth, being angry hereat, followed the Angell to complain of him to God. Soe it told God how this Angell had taken some of it away. Soe God bid it be content, for hee sent for it, but would take none of it away, but would only make use of it and send it againe.

With this piece of earth God made a house for man and bid one of the Chiefe of said soules goe in, which refused, and said, "Why should I goe into such a darke hole, and such a nasty thing?" Soe god created musick for these soules, at which they began to be very merry and being almost ravished therewith, one of them goes into the house of clay, and after for 100 yeares, this man of Clay or Adam alwayes looked up to heaven and worshipped God and did neither eat nor drink, at which God was much pleased with man and carried him before all his Angells in heaven for them to worshipp him; but Azeele ['Azāzīl] refusing to worship him, was cast out of heaven and became a Devill *ut antea*.

(*g*) Mamidarif saith also that all those soules that at first asking whence they came and who made them, did not answer that it was hee, have since entred into Heathens and Pagans bodies that beleeve not God, and the rest into those that beleeve in God. Further, God made First Angells in his owne shape. Second, beings in the Aire which hee made of Fire, Third, Men and fourth, [blank].

Ezebell

(*h*) When Ezeebel ['Azāzīl] was cast out of heaven hee was called Ebrees [Iblīs, devil], and went amongst the Second beings and polluted all them and made them his servants, and afterwards came upon earth to pollute Man, and after hee had done soe, hee ever after sent one of his servants to every man to tempt him, which God perceiveing, hee sent to every Man two Good Angells, the one to be at his right hand to

set downe in writing what good hee should doe, and the other on his left hand to write downe his evil actions; soe at the last day the 2 bookes are examined.

(*i*) Further, once a man met with the Divell with a Great torne nett and a Drum with him, soe hee asked what hee did with them. The Devill answered that every day morning hee cast his Net all over the world and caught aboundance of men, but some broak his Net and got thorow and went to heaven, soe that by Nine a clock hee had got aboundance. And then hee beat up his drum and summoned them all together, and told them what fooles they were to be trapanned and caught by him. All this Mamidarif had out of a Persian Book which had been written out of the Arobick

(*j*) Further, when the Divell had tempted man, hee was resolved to Goe up to heaven againe to demand of God his first place and to know of him why hee put him out of it, and is yet continually endeavouring to get up; but the Angells throwing the fire which wee call starr-shott [shooting-stars] at him continually beates him downe.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 7a.

(*k*) Mamo: herrif [Muhammad 'Ārif] saith That God made the Elements of differing natures That they might fight each with other.

6. DISCOURSE BY SAIYID JA'FAR

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 4.

Sayd Jaffer Saith that when God had cast Ezeebel ['Azāzīl] out of Heaven, Ezeebel before hee went out, told God hee had served him so many yeares and God

had given him no wages, therfore desired God to pay him for his service. And God asked him what hee had done more for him than hee who had made him had for him, that hee should expect any thing from him. But God bid him ask what hee would have. So hee desired that whenever God made a man hee should also make a Devill, which should be Ezeebel's servant to torment the man, which God ordered to be done, which since hath been observed.

7. PRAYER

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 10a.

The Moores say that they do not pray in open places, as by highwayes &ca., in way of ostentation, but to give others good example that they may do so too.

8. STORY OF A *FAQĪR*

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 10a.

Memorandum. In Moores history this Story. There was a Hindoo Fuckeere [*faqīr*] was feeding Ants, and a Mussulman coming by asked the Hindoo wherefore hee fed them Ants, who answered that the day following it would be a great Storme and possibly all them Ants might perrish for want of food; and therefore hee fed them. So the Musselman asked him what hee expected thereby, who told him, if hee did feed these creatures God would love him, but the Musselman told him that God never regarded heathens but all them should go to Hell and none be saved but Musselmen.

Afterwards they both died, and when the Musselman see this Hindoo in Heaven, hee admired [wondered] at it, and said to God, "How comes it to pas[s] that this

heathen is heare, for Mahomet told us that none but Mahomitans should be saved, and that these Heathens were a Soure and bitter people." To which God answered, that it was true that the heathen were a Soure and bitter people, "but," saith hee, "if these bitter people bring forth sweete fruite, why should they not have a sweete place here, or should I make them bitter againe?"

9. MARRIAGE MOORES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 6a.

The Moores when they Marry, the Codgie [*Kāzī*] or Padry asketh the man if hee will have the woman which is there covered, and making him promiss to give her such a summe of money as is agreeable to his condition, which afterwards hee performes in her maintenance. The woman by her Vokeele [*vakīl*, agent] or friend agrees to the marriage, and the Codgie taketh two witnesseth [*sic*] of the womans consenting by her Vokeele to her marriage. And when they are married, then the man sees his wife.

10. [BURIALS]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 7a.

The Moores, when they bury, ly the deceased upon their right sides with their faces towards Mecca, the place where Mahomet was buried. They say they ly upon their sides because they may the sooner rise at the last day, and with their faces towards Mecca because they shall be called to that place. They say it is not comly to ly with their feet towards their Prophet, being esteemed very indecent to ly with their

feet towards any great person, or let them come in sight.

11. CURE FOR MADMEN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

The Moores, when they have any Madmen, they put them into a roome no bigger than just for them to lie in; and therein put Musk and very strong sweet cold smells, which diverts their madness by cooling their brains, from the heat of which they say it proceeds.

12. MOORES NAME

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18.

The Moores or Mussulmen have but one name, which they receive the Second day after they are borne, as followeth, *vizt*: The father or nearest relation to the new borne sends for the Mulva [*mawlawī*] or Priest, who shuting a Book, the father pricks betweene the leaves of the Book, where when opened, the Mulva takes the first letter in that leafe and the meaning thereof, calleth the child.

So that as many Letters as are in the Arabick Language, so many severall names they have, every Letter having a severall meaning. But in case severall Moors of one name live in one place, then the people for distinction sake ad[d] some other name, as their fathers, &ca.

PARSEES

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 8.

In Persia are still remaining severall of the Parsee [Parsī] who are heathens [and] have no book of God. They when any man dies, hang him up in a Garden by the neck with a rope upon some tree, with his back to

a wall, and if the crowes come and pick out his eyes, then they conclude that mans soule is gone to heaven, and therefore they take downe his corps and bury it. But if the crowes do *not* pick out his eyes, then they conclude hee is not gone to heaven, and therefore they will not take downe his corps and bury it, but let him hang there, as thinking him not worthy of buriall.

Also, when a man is sick and neare death, hee enjoynes his sonnes or nearest relations That after his death they will buy so many frogs as 1, 2, 300, 1000, &ca., as they are enjoyned, and kill them, in which they think they do much good. This is often performed after their deaths, for by reason that the frogs dirty the water, they think tis good to kill them. There are some in their lives who will whole dayes together go up and downe the River to catch them and kill them, thinking thereby they do much good by freeing the water from the filth they make and the dirt which ariseth from their bodies, &ca., they being nasty creatures in their esteeme.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 9.

The Parsee[s] which are in Persia and other places adjacent, alwayes keepe fires in their houses, and if by chance their fires chance to go out, they will not borrow any of their neighbours, but will go to that place in Persia where is their great Saint to fetch fire, esteeming no fire good but what they themselves bring or their ancestors have brought from thence. So that when it happens their fires goes out, they will fetch it from thence though many of hundred miles.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XII

[For this chapter Maulvi Naimur-Rahman, Lecturer in Arabic, Allahabad University, has contributed important and illuminating notes, and his assistance is acknowledged in each instance. Sir Richard Temple's initials are added to the notes supplied by him.]

Marshall appears to have derived his information regarding Muhammadan religion, laws and customs from Mahmūd 'Ārif, the *vakīl* (agent) for the English at Patna, and Saiyid Ja'far, with whom he probably came in contact during his service under the Company at Patna. His note 4 (*b*) is dated 6th June, 1670, when we know, from his *Diary* (see Chapter II), that he was at that place. One, at least, of his informants appears to have been a Sūfī, as many of the statements recorded are imbued with the tenets of this unorthodox sect of Musalmān philosophers.

Here, as elsewhere, though in a lesser degree, Marshall's remarks are of great interest for the time in which they were collected. There are many errors, however, owing, apparently, to the ignorance of his informants and to his misconception of what they told him. For instance, he confuses the Archangels 'Azāzīl and 'Izrā'īl; he mistranslates several terms, and he makes the surprising mistake of crediting Yazīd instead of Husayn with martyrdom. On the other hand, his allusions to "rag-bushes" (No. 5 (*b*)), to marriage and burial customs and to the treatment of the insane, as practised in the district where he gleaned his information, are valuable. As in previous cases, his scattered notes have been grouped, as far as possible, in some sort of order, and those calling for special remark are dealt with by the authorities noted above.

1. (*a*) and (*b*). For the laws of inheritance of property as laid down by the *Korān*, see the *Korān*, iv. 11-14. (N.-R.)

(*c*) On this statement Maulvi Naimur-Rahman remarks: "There is no such law laid down by Islām. Such a procedure on the part of a king or any other authority must be regarded as 'positively against law,' as the author himself recognises in section (*a*) above."

(*d*) See the laws of inheritance (the *Korān*, iv. 11-14)

(*e*) For the laws of evidence in cases of loans of money, see the *Korān*, ii. 282-3. (N.-R.)

Usury is forbidden by the *Korān*, and the rent story shows how orthodox Musalmāns evaded the prohibition. Reduced to simple terms, Marshall's statement is as follows: A tenant pays down a fixed sum to his landlord as rent for a given number of years. The sum so paid includes principal, plus an agreed addition. On the expiry of the term, the landlord pays back the principal and retains the balance, which represents rent for the term. But if the tenant sublets, the landlord either pays back no principal at all or else so much of it as the tenant has not received by subletting. (R. C. T.)

2. "Mussulmen." Marshall's use of this term for Musalmāns is interesting. For other contemporary instances of the error, see Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 188 and footnote.

Maulvi Naimur-Rahman has dealt fully with Marshall's statements in this section as follows:

(*a*) "Names or Sorts." Islam does not at all recognise or encourage any kind of castes or "Sorts." The terms "Shaykh" and "Saiyid" owe their origin not to any fundamental legal sanction of the *Korān*, but merely to a rather false identification of personalities based upon birth. Saiyids are the descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fātima. Naturally enough their sense of pride led them to distinguish themselves from others, who could not boast of such an honourable descent, and were therefore styled mere Shaykhs. Shaykh means primarily "one advanced in age," and is applied to an elder as meaning a man whose age gives him a claim to reverence or respect. It is also especially applied to a chief of a religious fraternity, or to a tribe or the like (see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*). The Shaykhs in their turn felt it a source of pride to refer to their connection in lineage from Al-Siddiq (Abū Bakr, the first Caliph), or to Al-Fārūq ('Umar, the second Caliph), or to 'Uthmān, the third Caliph. But this difference in nomenclature does not impart any intrinsic superiority either to the Saiyids or Shaykhs. All are equal in the eyes of Islām, which does not favour any such ideas and fancies of pride and superiority based on birth Moral greatness, fitness and excellence is the only basis of superiority recognised by the *Korān* (*Korān*, xlix. 13).

"Farookee." There is no historical evidence to support this strange interpretation of the word Fārūq. "Fārūq" means one who makes a distinction between two things, such as between truth and falsehood. Al-Fārūq is an appellation that was given to 'Umār Ibn Al-Khattāb, the second Caliph, because a distinction was made by him between truth and falsity, that is, he denounced heathenism to adopt Islām (see Lane, *op. cit.*).

(*b*) "2 Sorts (1) Shea, and (2) Sunnee." The "Sorts" known as Shī'a and Sunnī are based mainly on political grounds, which developed religious tendencies later on.

"Shea signifies an Enemie." Shī'a does not mean an enemy. As pointed out by Lane (*op. cit.*), "Shī'a is a separate or distinct party of men. This is the primary signification: so called from their agreeing together, and following one another; or, according to some . . . the followers and assistants . . . or persons who follow or conform with one another." The Shī'as believe that 'Alī was the first legitimate Imām or Khalifa (successor) of the Prophet, and reject Abū Bakr, 'Umār, 'Uthmān (the first three Caliphs recognised by the Sunnīs) as usurpers. This idea forms the basis and essence of discord between Shī'as and Sunnīs. For further information on the subject, see the article Shiahs by W. M. Patten in the *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xi. and the article Shiah in Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*.

"Allee and Mahomet were great prophets and the other of the Charriarry no prophets." No sect in Islām recognises 'Alī as a prophet (see last paragraph). Even the Sunnīs do not recognise the Chār Yār (*i.e.* Abū Bakr, 'Umār, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, the first four Caliphs) as prophets. The author seems to be hopelessly confused here. The Chār Yār (lit four friends, *i.e.* of the Prophet) are so called because of the great love and regard the Prophet had for them and because of their being his first four successors.

"The other sort are called Rofsee." "Rofsee," *i.e.* Rāfidī, is no sect or "sort" at all. The word Rāfidī comes from Rifd, to leave, forsake, desert, separate from, and signifies an army or party which has deserted its leader. The name was later on applied to a certain sect of the Kūfic Shī'as who were so named because they had deserted their leader Zayd (the great-grandson of the Caliph 'Alī) when he forbade them to speak against the Companions of the Prophet, and then they desired him to renounce Abū Bakr and 'Umār and 'Uthmān. On Zayd's refusing to do so they deserted him. In consequence "Rāfidī" became an appellation for all such persons as speak against the Companions of the Prophet, and is often applied sarcastically by the Sunnīs to the Shī'ahs (see above on the Shī'ahs).

"The Sunnee say that Mahomet is the greatest prophet." Sunnī means a follower of the Sunna, *i.e.* mode and usage of the Prophet (see article Sunnites in *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*).

(*c*) "Mahomet Syad say Mahomet Greatest prophet" Saiyids may or may not say so, for they may be either Sunnīs or Shī'as, and their views about 'Alī and other Caliphs may therefore differ accordingly.

3. (*a*) "God sent his Angell Gabriel to them with a Comul or mantle." On this statement and on the story which follows Maulvi Naimur-Rahman writes.

"Comul" (*kambal*) is a Hindi word and its use shows that the author gathered his information from some semi-literate or illiterate Indian narrator of facts. The details of the story as

given by the great savant and divine, 'Abdul-Haqq Muhaddith-i-Dihlawī (*Madārijun-Nabuwwat*, ii. 589, ed. Lucknow, 1880), are as follows :

Once the Prophet, peace be upon him, was enjoying a cheerful conversation with 'Alī and Fātima and was showing his kindness to them both, when 'Alī said, " O Prophet of Allah, do you love her more than me, or do you love me more than her ? " He, may the Lord bless him, said, " To me she is more beloved than you are, and you are dearer to me than she." And it is correctly reported from 'Āyisha Siddīqa, may Allah be pleased with her, that she said, " The Prophet of Allah, peace be upon him, went out and he had a woollen cloak on. 'Alī's son Hasan went to him, and he covered him with the cloak. After this 'Alī's son Husayn also approached him and he covered him as well with his cloak. Then came Fātima and 'Alī. He included them also under the (same) cloak of his and then recited this verse (of the *Korān*), " Allah only desires to take away the uncleanness from you, O people of the household, and to purify you a purifying " (*Korān*, xxxiii. 33). Regarding these four persons he said, " I am a fighter against whosoever fights against these, and I am at peace with whomsoever is at peace with these." This clearly shows what erroneous conclusions our author has drawn from this story.

(*b*) Marshall's information regarding the daughters of Muhammad is confused.

4-12. On sections 4 to 12 Maulvi Naimur-Rahman remarks :

" These are based mainly on the ' discourses ' of ' Mamidarif ' and ' Sayd Jaffer,' who seem to be semi-literate men. Their information throughout reveals a confused knowledge of facts based on popular traditions and legends, and cannot, therefore, be said to be authentic and reliable. The statements must thus be taken to reflect only the popular and local beliefs and ideas obtainable in Patna and its vicinity and can by no means be said to represent true Islamic beliefs and customs."

5. (*a*) The note reads as if Mahmūd 'Ārif were a Sūfī, which is quite likely. (R. C. T.)

(*b*) There are two very interesting allusions here, one to the rag-bushes of India (see *Things Indian*, p. 498), and the other to the miscellaneous " saints tombs " to be found everywhere. All kinds of things have been used for the purpose—English milestones, Christian graves, &c. (R. C. T.)

(*c*) Here we have the Sūfī idea again : the equality of all religious belief (see *Lalla the Prophetess*, pp. 2, 79 ff.). (R. C. T.)

(*f*) This appears to be a mixture of legends about angels and souls with some Hinduism in them and with a confusion between 'Izra'īl, the Angel of Death, and 'Azāzīl, the name of the Devil before his fall.

(*h*) Here we have allusions to the origin of sin and to the Recording Angel. (R. C. T.)

Marshall has written " Ebrees " over " Azeele," which is erased in each case.

6. This note seems also to be an explanation of the origin of sin. (R. C. T.)

8. The " Moores history " is really Indian and the whole note is pure Sufiism treating of the equality of all religion—the old " Heresy " of the Manichaeans. (R. C. T.)

9 and 10. For marriage and burial customs, see Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, pp. 86-7, 281 ; Boyle, *Laws relating to Muhammadans*, pp. 1 ff. and App. I.

11. This does not mean that such treatment is in accordance with the *Korān* or Muslim Law. It may have been a custom prevalent at Patna and in the neighbourhood in Marshall's day. The same remark applies to the following section. (N.-R.)

12. See Herklots, *op. cit.* pp. 5-14, on "The Naming of Children."

PARSĪS

Marshall evidently had no first-hand acquaintance with Parsis and knew nothing of their sacred books (Zend Avesta), while his informant appears to have been equally ignorant. The note regarding burial customs reads like a confused account of the Towers of Silence. The superstition regarding frogs is interesting, but I have failed to find any confirmation of it elsewhere For contemporary notices of the Parsis, see Mundy, ed. Temple, ii 305-6 , Alexander Hamilton, *East Indies*, i. 160.

XIII

PRODUCTIONS AND MERCHANDISE: COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES · MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

1. RICE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 4a.

It is credibly reported by many that at and neare Dacca the Rice growes above the water, which is 10 yards deepe. It is sowne in June or begining of July; and in latter end of September and in October the Natives reape it in Boates.

2. ELEPHANTS TEETH

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18.

In India some Elephants teeth have beene sold in Pattana that weighed 1 maund 5 seer, or 90 English pound weight. I have seene one of 3 yards long and ½ yard about. Their price is about 55 or 60 Rupees per Maund or 80 lb.

3. SAFFRON

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

From Casmeer [Kashmīr] and Neopoll [Nepāl] is brought to Pattana Safron, which is there sold for 25 or 30 Rupees per seer, 42 pice going to the seer, which make about 2 *li.* English Haverdepoiz [avoirdupois]; tis often dearer.

4. EARTHENWARE. MINAPORE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19a.

There are made at Minapore [? Mainapur], which is neare Hodgipore [Hājīpur] by Pottana, a Sort of fine Earthenware. I weighed one, which weighed but 1⅛ oz. Troy, and it held of water without breaking 18 oz. Troy; and I have seene of that ware much finer and lighter; and there is a sort that come[s] from Begumsurray [Begamsarāī] finer than this.

5. OPHIUM

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 19.

Best Ophium comes from neare Pattana, and that from Mungeer [Munger, Monghyr] is not nigh so good. Tis a large white flower, about 1½ yard from [the] ground. They sow the seed in October, and tis ripe in February. The flower closeth, and after a few dayes they cut 2 or 3 slits in the sid[e]s of it out of which cometh a white juice which they let dry, then wipe or scrape it, of which is Ophium. Then they againe slit it, till any juice will come out, which is not above 3 or 4 drops, and that which they preserve for seed, they cut not. Out of an acre of ground will not come above 40 or 50 seer, which sometimes is worth 70 or 80 Rupees.

6. SALT ROCKS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22a.

Betwixt Lahore and Candahaur [Kandahar] are very high Mountains, upon some of which great Mines of Rocksalt is found, Some of which are upon the Superficies of the Mountains. The Salt is very good, and [is] all the Salt that is eaten in these parts of India.

'Tis very hard and cleare, being somthing like, but whiter, than Allom. Tis of good tast, being very salt, and having no other tast mixed with it. Many of them mountains appeare white with the Rocks of it, which appeares above ground.

7. GOLD DUST

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 21a.

In Japan the Gold dust, when tis cleared from dirt, is $\frac{7}{8}$ good gold and $\frac{1}{8}$ dross, as I have heard the Directore for the Dutch say, who hath beene Chiefe at Japan.

8. LACKERD CUPS

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 17.

In Japan are Lackred cups, which lack will not go of[f] in boyling hot water. In Pattana they lack wood by heating it well and then heating the wax and claping upon it and rubing it with some greene thing that is soft and moist; so they will thus make it very thin and it will last well, but not so as Japan work will.

9. AMBERGREES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 15a.

Ambergrees is cast upon the Island Johanna [Anjuan, Comoro Is.] by the Sea; it is also cast upon Mauritius &ca. [and other] places. What this is hath not yet beene perfectly knowne that I have heard of.

10. COYNES, BALLASORE

Harl. MS 4254, fol. 2a.

Their Coyne is Rupies, being made of silver and valued here in the Company's bookes at 2s. 6d. per piece, but in noe other place valued at more than

2s. 3d. Here is (though rare) a coyne called an any [*ānā*], 16 of which is alwayes reckoned for one Rupee; and all the Small money is Cowries [*kaurī*] which rise and fall according to the plenty or scarcity of them, sometimes 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 Pond [*pan*] goeing for a Rupie, every pond alwayes consisting of 80 Cowries, which are little shell[s] which in England are called Current shells [shell currency]. They are taken at the Maldive Islands from the Rock and buried untill all their fish is gon out of them, and then sold. Some are sent for England to the Company, to be sent to Guiney, where they are of great value.

11. COYNES, PATTANA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 10.

(*a*) Three Cowries [*kaurī*] [$\frac{1}{3}$, *sic*] 1 Dom [*dām*], 25 Dom, one pice [*paisā*]; 10 Cowries, 1 Domree [*damrī*], 3 Dom, one Domree; 8 Domree or 80 Cowries, one pice; Two Domrees, 1 Chadam [*cha-dām*, *chhedām*] or $\frac{1}{4}$ pice; 2 Chadam, 1 Addela [*adhēlā*, *dhēlā*] or $\frac{1}{2}$ pice, or 12$\frac{1}{2}$ Dom. Also 1 Duckera [*dukrā*] is same with Chadam; 3 Duckera, $\frac{3}{4}$ pice; 4 Duckera, 1 pice; 1 Tucka [*takā*] 2 pice, 40 Pice, 1 Rupee.

(*b*) There are also Great [double, *dabal*] Pice, by which goods are weighed, 40 of which make one Seere [*ser*], also 30 goe for 1 Rupee; but the great pice and little [*kachchā*, light] pice both rise and fall in price.

(*c*) These Pice are all Copper Coyne and made in Shaujahaun's [Shāh Jahān] and other former Kings raignes, and they goe to [are current in] Pottana and all over Indostand, in Bengall and Orixa. But the little pice were made by Oramzeb [Aurangzēb] and goe [are current] only in Pattana and there abouts,

being but lately made, and not being spread up and downe in the Country.

(*d*) There are also Coynes made of Silver, 1 Anna or $\frac{1}{16}$ Rupee, 2 Anna or $\frac{1}{8}$ Rupee, 4 Anna or $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee, 8 Anna or $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee, and Rupee.

12. COYNES, FORT ST. GEORGE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 2 (reverse).

The Coynes of this place are Pagothas, which are little pieces of Gold Stamped in the Fort and are valued at 8s. sterling a piece, and fanams, which are little pieces of Gold and brass together, and valued at 3d. per piece; but they sometimes are dearer and sometimes cheaper. There are pice too, which are made of Copper, being very little, and about 50 or 60 for a Fanam. Here are few Rupees goe.

13. COYNES, METCHLEPATAM

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 3 (reverse).

The Coynes here are (1) Old Pagothas, which some times goe at 5, 6, 7, 8 Rupees per piece, being not biger than New Pagothas, which there goe usually at $3\frac{5}{7}$ r. (2) Rupees, which goe at 2s. 3d. (3) Pice, 28 or 27 of which goe for a rupee. They are copper money, consisting of $\frac{1}{2}$ pice, $\frac{1}{3}$ which is called an Agan [*ēgāni*], and $\frac{1}{6}$, which is called a Pican.

Old Pagothas now are very scarce, the King of Gulcondah receiving all his rents in Old Pagothas, which hee never parts with againe, soe makes them very dear.

Here are an imaginary Coyne called a Fanam, 15 of which goe to an Old Pagotho.

14. NEOPOLL COYNE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 21a.

At Neopoll [Nepāl] the money is very small, the bigest weighing but 7½ Annas, beeing not ½ Rupee, as I have heard. I have one ¼ peece which weighs but 1⅞ Anna, or thereabouts, and these peeces are divided into 16ths and 64ths, all which I have by mee.

15. RUPEES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 6a.

Memorandum. There are 4 sorts of Rupees, *vizt.*, Sicca [*Sikka*], Charriarry [*Chāryārī*], Shau Jahaun [Shāh Jahān], and Illahee [Ilāhī].

The Sicca Rupee is so called because it is new, and is no longer so called than one yeare; after it is called Charriarry, from the 4 friends of Mahomet. Shau Jahaun Rupees are those which were made in his raigne who was father to this King Oram Shaw [Aurangzēb]. Illahee Rupees are so called from Gods name being writ upon them, which was writ in Shau Johauns fathers [Akbar's] raigne.

100 Sicca Rupees are worth of Charriarry 104, of Shau Jahaun 105, and of Illahee 106 Rupees.

16. RUPEES WEIGHT: ANNAS, PAGOTHAS, DOLLAR

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a, 14a.

1 Rupee Sicca and $\frac{9}{16}$ of Anna weigh 2s. English neilds [? milled] shillings in 1663.

1 Anna or $\frac{1}{16}$ Rupee weighs 11¼ grains gold weight.

1 Pagotha of Gold weighs $4\frac{1}{4}\frac{3}{8}$ Annas silver.

1 Dollar weigheth 2 Rupees $5\frac{1}{4}\frac{5}{16}$ Annas.

17. COWRIES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

4 Cowries make 1 Gunda [*ganda*], 5 Gunda make 1 Bodee [? *baurī*], 4 Bodee make 1 Ponde [*pana*], 16 Ponde make one Cauhaund [*kāhan*], 2 Cahaund go for one Rupee, sometimes more somtimes less at Huglie, and at Ballasore for most part 2 Cahaund and 5 or 6 Ponde go for one Rupee.

1 Abassee weighs $10\frac{3}{16}$ an. Sicca.

18 CUPPAN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

A Cuppan [*kobang*], which comes from Japan, is a long and thin peece of Gold. It usually goes for 5 Pagothas new at Metchlepatam and at the Bay [of] Bengall for 19¼ Rupees.

19. WEIGHTS AT METCHLEPATAM

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 2.

25 pound make a Maund, 25 Maund make a Candy, soe 625 pound make a Candy.

20. WEIGHTS AT HUGLY

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 2a.

At Hugly the Maund is 40 seer or 73 pound, and Cowries 5, 6, 7 and sometimes 10 per Cent. dearer than at Ballasore.

21. WEIGHTS [AND MEASURES] AT PATTANA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 2a.

At Pattana the Maund is 40 seer or 78 pound; besides, the Custome of the place is to allow 2 seer in every maund.

The measure by which English cloth is sold is a Guzz [*gaz*], which is 41¾ English inches. Here is also a little Guz which is but 32⅛ inches; the Carpenters, 31¾ inches; the Carpets Guz, 35 inches.

Here, if good[s] be sold for ready money, they will have 2 months time, or pay ready money and rebait for 2 months interest.

22. GUZ

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 11.

There are 3 sorts of Guz, (*vizt.*) Shaujahauns [Shāh Jahān's] Guz, called the Mulmull Guz, containing 41¼ English inches or 1 yard 5½ [*sic*] inches. Eckbur [Akbar] Guz, called the Taylors Guz, containing 31⅛ English inches, and Seecundrees [Sikandar's] Guz, called the Carpet Guz, containing 27⅞ English inches.

23. GEERA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 10a.

At Pattana 16 Geera [*gīrih*] make 1 Great Guz, or little Guz, so that, as the Guz are, so in proportion are the Geera.

24. BARLY CORNES, UNGLES, COVET, DUN, COURSE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 6.

(*a*) Indostand [Hindustan]. In said Country they measure by Barly cornes placeing the small ends of them together so that they touch each other, and then they are circular; 8 Barlicornes breadth so placed make one Ungle [*angulī, anglī*] or finger breadth; 24 Ungles make one Covet [Port. *côvado*, cubit, ell] or measure from the Elbow to the end of long finger; 4 Covets make one Dun [*dhanu*]; 2000 Duns make

1 Course [*kos*] in Indostand, which is about $2\frac{1}{4}$ English miles.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22a.

(*b*) The Hindostand Course [*kos*], as writ in their Book, consists of Eight thousand Covets, each covet being $18\frac{9}{16}$ inches English, so that tis 148500 inches, which are 4125 yards, which make of English mile 2 and 605 yards.

25. WEIGHTS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 14a.

8 Ruttee [*rattī*] make one Mass [*māsha*]; $10\frac{1}{2}$ Mass make one Rupee Sicca; 12 Mass make one Tola; $19\frac{3}{4}$ Mass make one pice Shawjahaun [Shāh Jahān], being copper, 42 which pice make one seer, buzar [*ser, bāzār*] weight; $18\frac{1}{2}$ Mass make one pice Modussay [?], or one old pice, 40 of which make one seer Factory weight at Huglie. One pice Orumzeeb [Aurangzēb] weighs 1 rupee $3\frac{1}{2}$ anna; $\frac{1}{2}$ pice Metchlepatam weighs $15\frac{1}{2}$ anna; one Cash or pice Madras weighs $\frac{5}{8}$ anna.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18.

A Ruttee is about the 40th part of a shilling weight, so $\frac{1}{2}$ Ruttee the 80th part of a shilling weight.

26. STILLIARDS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 22.

In Japan are Stilliards [steel-yards] by which Gold and Silver is weighed.

27. OBSERVATION OF LANGUAGES

Harl. MS. 4255, fol 16.

I observe that in all Languages I have met with, there are words belong to other Languages though of

other signification; so I suppose the difference of Languages are but the changing of words, for at confusion of Babell, when they called for a brick, hee who went and brought another thing, though hee understood what brick meant, else hee would not have gone, so that brick did signifie the thing he brought. I also observe that all signes of assenting or dissenting are the saim in all places.

28. SINSCREET OR NAGGARY LETTERS AND FIGURES

Harl. MS. 4254, *fol.* 32.

The Sinscreet [Nāgarī, Devanāgarī] letters are as follows: (*vizt.*):

* * * * * * * * etc.

The Sinscreet Figures (*Vizt.*): * * etc.

These Letters are the same with the Naggary, but the Speech distinct.

[The portions omitted, marked by asterisks, are Marshall's rendering of the Nāgarī alphabet and figures with their sounds, as he heard them, reproduced phonetically. It has not been considered advisable to print them.]

29. SINSCREET CHARACTERS AND FIGURES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 33a.

The Sinscreet Language, which is the learned Language amongst Bramins [Brāhmans] hath 54 Letters (*vizt.*)

[Here follows the Sanskrit alphabet and a reproduction of the sounds as above. This also has been omitted.]

Some of these are both great and little letters, for

they have but 39 distinct letters, *ut antea*: these I writ from the Bramin Doctor in Pattana. The character I writ as true as I could, but the name of the Letter could not so well write, he making so little difference in pronunciation.

30. NAGGARY LANGUAGE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 20.

It is not very much differing from the Sinscreet [Sanskrit]. Tis called Naggary [Nāgarī] from the name of a City which was called Urgin Naggary [Ujjain Nāgarī] about 1700 years since, which City is now called Bonarres.

31. CHINA AND JAPAN

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 16a.

The Chineses and Japanners have the same Letters and characters, so that they can write each to other and be understood; but if they come to speake to each other, they understand not each other, for that character which in both their Languages signifies horse, yet if spoken, one calls it a horse, the other another thing; so that when one speakes a word which signifies a horse to the Chineses, perhaps signifies a Sheep in the Japan Language. Yet have both but one character for a horse, whereby they understand each others characters though not words.

32. FIGURES IN LOSSA [TIBETAN] LANGUAGE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 21a.

The names of figures in Lossa Language as followeth:

1 Cheek [*gcig*]	10 Chutomba [*bcu-tham-pa*]
2 Nee [*gnis*]	11 Tombachee [*bcu-gcig-tham-pa*]

3 Soum [*gsum*]	12 Tombanee [*bcu-gnis-tham-pa*]
4 Gzee [*bzi*]	100 Cheetompa [*brgya-tham-pa*]
5 Naw [*lna*]	1000 Meelee [?]
6 Toak [*drug*]	God, Cwangall [? *dban-rgyal*, victor, lord]
7 Doan [*bdun*]	
8 Ga [*brgyad*]	Man, Amba [?]
9 Go [*dgu*]	

33. OBSERVATION CONCERNING A GREYHOUND

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 12a.

A Grayhound which was whelped on board the *Rainbow*, about March 1669/70, neare Cape Bon-esperance, had never beene from on board untill about middle of December following, when in Ballasore road being taken from on board and put into a Budgerah [*bajrā*] or boat (which was by the *Rainbows* side) to be sent on shore, the Grayhound had a great desire to leap out of the Budgerah upon the side of the Ship and attempted it several times, by all the postures of his body expressing the same, and bending his body over the boat side. At last hee endeavoured to tread upon the water, and put one of his feet first in. When found it to sink into the water, hee drew it in againe and no more attempted that way nor the other. When hee came on shore hee seemed to be surprised and afraid of every thing. Hee severall times leapt from high Gallaries till weary of it.

34. [HEAVY RAINS AT PATNA, 1671]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

About 10 years since in Pattana were killed with the falling of the walls in the rains times betwixt

7 and 800 persons; the rains were so violent and the walls being brick, inlaid with dirt, which washed away.

35. LAWYERS AT PEGU

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 5a.

Mr. Hatton saith At Pegu, when they have any controversies, they must retaine Councell to plead for them, which although corrupt, yet will plead rationally, but the Controversies are decided by a Judge.

36. LETTERS TO MR. COVELL; DITTO TO DR. MORE

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 15a.

Vide in Letter books C and D what writ to Mr. Covell, Also what writ to Dr. More.

37. CARRIAGE FROM PATTANA TO AGRA

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 33.

At Pattana Coaches, oxen, horses, &ca. are every month let to Agra (except in the 4 months in the Rains). An Ox is let for 12 Rupees, the owner thereof being at the charge of a man to go with the ox, and also for the ox meat; and this Ox will carry 4 maund.

A Coach which will carry 40 Maund and goes with 6 Oxen is let for 80 Rupees. A Coach that will carry 4 men and goes with 2 oxen is let for 22 Rupees. A horse is let for 10 Rupees. Cahars [*kahār*] to Go with a Pallenkeen will have 5 rupees per peece, besides 1 seer dall [*dāl*, pulse] a peece every day, which will amount to 1½ rupees per peece more; in all these cases of the oxen, coaches, horses or wagons, the

owners thereof are all [*sic* ? att] all charges, except custome paid at places for the goods carried.

38. EARTHS BIGNESS

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 32.

Some B[r]amins say That in the earth there are of Square Course 50,000,000,000 reckoning the whole Globe, both Earth and water, each course being about 2 English miles; *vide* former call[c]ulations for Courses.

39. MR. CHARNOCK QUESTIONS [*i.e.* questioned]

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 4a.

[He] saith it hath bin asked by these Hindoos and Moores, whether wee had any land in our Country, whether any women, any Children; if wee did not make Silver of the Saltpeter; whether wee had any accounts or not; for they had heard that every servant in England had what money they would, wee keeping noe Account; they took it out by handfulls; that wee only lived upon Ships. They Also [asked] whether wee understood one another and could write or not.

40. SEALING WAX

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

Take sealing wax of best sort in the hot weather and ly any small weight upon it, and it will bend, but not break, in 1 or 2 houres.

41. MEN AND WOMEN DEAD

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 19.

Tis observed in Ganges, where vast numbers of dead corps are throwne, that few or no men float with

their backs upward, and few or no woemen with their bellies upwards; some I have seene to contrary, though not many.

42. QUERE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 28.

An old man lies with a young woman and gets her with child, and the old mans sonn lies with the young womans mother and gets her with child. Quere. What are these children a kin? This was asked mee by a Hindoo.

43. RASHBOOTS WIFE

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 25.

Here [Hājīpur] I see a Roshbootanee [Rājpūtānī] or Rashboots [Rājpūt's] wife on horseback with a great Sash [*shash*, turban] on, and a Girdle and Jamma [*jāma*, clothing] like a man.

44. HINDOOS NAME

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 18a.

The Hindoos have but one name which they receive from the Bramin or Priest the sixth day of their age. The Bramin consulting the places of the stars and his Astrology, and finding what minute the child was born, gives him a name accordingly.

45. RECIPES

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 12a.

(*a*) To make a glew that will be very strong. Take the inside of new cheese and beat it in a morter a little, then wash it with very hot water till all the fat and whey come out by strayning it. Then put to it some chenam or fine lime and beat it together, and it will be good glew.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 12a.

(*b*) Neelmarree [*nirmalī*], A berry in Bengall and all over India, like a pea but little bigger, this rubbed in a pot of water against the pot sides, make the thickest and muddiest water in a little time to settle. Tis much used in Pattana where Ganges water (which is often dirty) is drunk.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 13a.

(*c*) To melt Amber and make it soft like wax. Put yellow amber into hot melted wax before scummed [skimmed, cleared], and twill do it.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 17.

(*d*) To make a Dog not grow. The Portugees have a way to make a dog not grow, *vizt*: Take a dog when 8 or 10 dayes old and put him in a sling so that he cannot stir, but the sling will stir and move him. Give him every day the yolk of an egg boild and give him no water, nor any thing else to drink, and keep him with that diet in the sling for about 6 months, and hee will afterwards never grow.

Harl. MS. 4254, fol. 20.

(*e*) Salt Peter Experiment. Salt Peter will make water very cold after this manner, *vizt*: Take a round lead pot about 1 foot of [*sic* ? or] 14 inches diameter. Into it put 3 or 4 seer of Salt Peter and as much water. Then take 4 Coosas [*kūza*, jar], which fill each halfe full of water. Then Stirr these Coosas in the Salt Peter water for about 10 minutes of an houre. After put out all the water from the Salt Peter, and put more Salt Peter into the pot, and power in the water to it out of 3 Coosas, and the other Coosa stirr up and downe in the Salt peter water for about 2 minutes of an houre,

and it will be exceeding cold, and at the highest coldness. But if afterwards the Coosa be longer stirred in the water, it will by little and little become warmer, though new peter and water bee added, and in about 12 minutes more will be warmer than other water kept in a cool place; and after againe continuing the same stirring, it will againe grow colder, but will not come to bee ¼ so cold as was at first, but in about 24 minutes will come to be a little colder than ordinary water.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 16a.

(*f*) To blew Iron. The Natives blew iron weapons to keep them from rusting. They first make them very bright, then ly them in hot straw ashes such as a man can only endure to clap his hand upon, then let them ly covered with those ashes thin, with ashes under them, for about 2 minutes of an houre; then take them out if blew, and they will remaine so.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23

(*g*) To prevent Seedg dood [*sīj kā dūdhi*] and Aug dood [*ūkhān dūdhi*] from breaking. The Hindoos prevent said milks from breaking or curdling by put[ting] into it 1 Cowry weight of salt to every seer weight of milk.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23.

(*h*) [To] Cleanse poisoned wells. Take Earth that is Clying and fat, and birne to ashes, and strew over the well, and the poison will cleave to it, which you may take out.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 23a.

(*i*) Receipt against bad water. Adjuaine [*ajwain*, Bishop's Weed] or Coriander, seed of Turmerick and

Musterseed, [take] of each a pice weight and bruise altogether to powder, to which put a little water, and drink 3 mornings together every month, and it will cleanse the filth in foule water a man shall drink.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24a.

(*j*) Rogun [*raugan*], Varnish. The Hindoos varnish wood as followeth. First take Cohorbah [*kahrubā*] (which is a kind of Gum or amber); put it into a new pot when heated over the fire, till melted; then put to it 1½ times its quantitie of Tieseka teale [*til kā tel*, Sesamum oil], and boyle both together for ½ an houre till be very clammy [viscid, adhesive]; then take it of and straine it and keepe it for use, which is—First let the wood you would varnish stand in the Sun till well Dryed, and then with the palme of your hand bath [moisten] or beat it in as thin as possible, leting it dry in the Sun, and so do it 2 or 3 times.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 24a.

(*k*) Bowes. When weak bowes, they wrap them about within with the Sinues of Cowes leggs, bruised in pieces like hemp.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 30.

(*l*) To guild with Quicksilver. Rub Quicksilver upon an Earthen cup. Then take the Root, branch and leaves of Iskpeecha [*Ishq pechan*, *Ipomœa hederacea*, American jasmine] and bruise altogether, and let the cup (so rubbed over) stand in the juice of said Iskpeecha so bruised. Then take it out and rub it over againe with Quicksilver and continue so doing 3 or 4 times, and it will be well Guilded.

Harl. MS. 4255, fol. 30.

(*m*) Receipt to make wine. Take of Kismiss [*kishmish*] (which are a sort of small rasins without

stones) one seer, and thereto put 2 seer water, and let them steep 10 or 12 dayes, every day squeezing them 3 or 4 times with your hand; and let it stand in a hot place where sun comes not, and then straine it, and [it] will be good wine. And if you desire Viniger of it, set it in the Sun 3 or 4 dayes and it will be so.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XIII

The remarks collected in the concluding chapter of Marshall's "Observations" cover a wide field and contain some very interesting information.

His notes on Production and Merchandise are accurate and testify to the carefulness of his enquiries and investigations. He is here again indebted to the Dutch "Directore" for details relating to Japan.

The section devoted to Coins, Weights and Measures is especially valuable for date and accurate observation, and Marshall's lists should be compared with those of his contemporaries, Mundy, Tavernier, Bowrey and Fryer.

The notes on Language contain no fresh information, but are interesting for the period in which they were compiled. The copies of Nāgarī script, however, are incorrect and incomplete, and it has therefore not been considered necessary to reproduce them here. The English equivalents given by Marshall for the sounds of the characters show that he probably learned Sanskrit from a Bengālī. His "Figures in Lossa Language," doubtless given to him by his Armenian friends, is one of the earliest lists of Tibetan words with their English equivalents.

The final section of Miscellaneous Notes contains a rare collection of recipes with which Marshall probably intended to astound his friends on his return to England.

1. Marshall is alluding to the Long-stemmed Paddy, about which Watt, *Economic Products of India*, *s.v.* Oryza sativa (v. 543) quotes A. C. Sen's remarks: "This variety of paddy is extensively grown in the Dacca district. The low lands, the sides of jheels and low plains on which 5 to 15 feet of water accumulates during the rains, are selected for this crop. It has a remarkable power of growth, frequently shooting up to the extent of 12 inches in the course of 24 hours as the inundation rises, and in the case of some varieties . . . attaining the length of from 10 to 20 feet."

2. If Marshall's figures are correct, the tusk he saw was abnormally long for the Asiatic variety. According to Watt (*op. cit.* iii. 226, *s.v.* Ivory), the largest Indian tusk on record measured 8 ft., its greatest circumference being 1 ft. 4.9 in. and weight 90 lb.

4. Marshall seems to be describing the pottery of Sewan, near Patna, which is remarkable for its extreme thinness and lightness.

5. Except for the fact that it is the capsule, not the "flower," which is "lanced" eight or ten days after the petals have been removed, Marshall's information is remarkably correct. The value of opium has, of course, increased enormously since his time.

6. Marshall is alluding to the rock salt of the Salt Range, a hill system in the Jhelum, Shāhpur and Miānwāli Districts of the Panjab.

7. For the "Directore for the Dutch" who had been in Japan see Chapter VII, note on No. 20 (*a*).

8. For the difference in the methods by which the lacquer industry is carried on in Japan and India, see Watt, *op. cit.* vi. 334, *s.v.* Japan Lacquer Industry.

10. Bowrey, about the same date, rates the rupee at 3200 cowries, or 40 *pan*, the highest figure quoted by Marshall (see Bowrey, ed Temple, p. 218). In 1835 Kelly (*Universal Cambist*, i. 88) gives only 2560 as the average number of cowries to a rupee, or less than Marshall's lowest estimate.

11. (*a*) "1 Tucka [*takā*] 2 Pice." This "tucka" must not be confounded with "tucka" (*takā*), the word commonly used by Bengālis for a rupee. See Yule, Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.* Tucka.

(*d*) The one-anna piece of silver is the *kalā* of Abu'l-Fazl's list of Akbar's coins.

12. Marshall's table of coins at Fort St. George is almost identical with Fryer's (ed. Crooke, ii. 132), about the same date, except that he substitutes "pice" for the latter's "cash" (but see No. 25). See also Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 114.

13. Among the "Local monetary terms" given in Hemingway's *Godavari District Gazetteer*, p. 123, is the following table:

96 cowries	= 1	3-pie piece.
4 cowries	= 1	punjam.
3 punjams	= 1	toli.
2 tolis	= 1	dammidi (¾ pie).
2 dammidis	= 1	ēgāni (1½ pies).
2 ēgānis	= 1	dabbu (a 3-pie piece).

It seems almost certain that *ēgāni* and Marshall's "agan" are identical.

For "Picans" at Narsapore (Narāsapur) see Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 116, and for "Old Pagothas" see *ibid.* p. 115 and note.

17. Marshall's cowry table corresponds almost exactly with that given by Bowrey (ed. Temple, p. 218). See also note 8 on the same page for remarks on the *'abbāsī*.

19. Bowrey also (ed. Temple, p. 116) gives 25 lb. to the *man* of S. India, but he makes the candy (*kandi*) only 20 *man*.

20. Bowrey (*op. cit.*, p. 217) gives 73 lb. to the Hūglī *man*.

22. It will be seen that the lengths of the several kinds of *gaz*, or Indian yard, given by Marshall in this section, differ from those in No. 21 above. He probably obtained his information at various times and from several individuals. The Ilāhī *gaz* of Akbar was 33 in. See Wilson, *Glossary*, *s.v.* gaz, guz.

24. (*a*) and (*b*) Marshall's remarks on the *kos* of varying length, both here and in his *Diary*, are interesting and valuable. By " their Book " he seems to mean the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, but the Akbarī *kos* was 2 miles, 1,038 yards, or 433 yards longer than Marshall states. See Mundy, ed. Temple, ii. 67; Tavernier, ed. Crooke, i. 39 n. for this measurement of distance.

25. This paragraph is valuable for information evidently acquired by Marshall from actual observation and experiment.

28. Marshall does not appear to have grasped the fact that Sanskrit is a speech and Nāgarī a form of writing.

30. See above, note on No. 28. Marshall's derivation is entirely wrong.

32. Dr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian of the India Office, has kindly examined Marshall's list of Tibetan figures and has supplied the correct vernacular words in every instance possible. For the figures 1 to 9 he finds Marshall's rendering wonderfully accurate For 10, 11, 12, 100, 200, Marshall uses forms which, though accepted, are not those generally employed. His rendering of " 1000 " and " Man " are unintelligible, though clearly written, and he evidently failed to reproduce what he heard.

33. Marshall probably had this story direct from Captain Richard Goodlad of the *Rainbow*, since that vessel sailed to Bengal in 1670 and Marshall was at Balasore from 22nd October to 30th December of that year (see Chapter III). Or he might have heard it on his voyage to India in 1669 when Captain Goodlad was more than once a guest on board the *Unicorn* (see Log, *Harl. MS.* 4253).

34. The cause of the " falling of the walls " was probably the melting of the *adobé* or sun-dried (not burnt) bricks. (R. C. T.)

35. For Christopher Hatton see Chapter XI note on No. 43.

36. It is unfortunate that Marshall's " Letter Books " have not survived and that there is no trace of his correspondence with his college friends, Dr. John Covell and Dr. Henry More, for his relations with whom see the Introduction.

37. This note is valuable for rates for transport in Marshall's day.

38. This is one of the impossible calculations of which Indians are so fond. (R. C. T.)

41. Ralph Fitch, however (1583-91), makes a contrary assertion: "I went to Patenaw [Patna] downe the river of Ganges. . . . These Indians when they bee scorched [partly burnt] and throwen into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces upwards. I thought they tied something to them to cause them to doe so, but they say no" (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 23).

42. In England the answer would be first cousin once removed.

44. For the Naming Ceremony, see Mr. Kaye's note N in Chapter IX. See also Chapter XII, No. 12, for Marshall's remarks on the naming of Muhammadans.

45. (*b*) See Chapter X, No. 11 (*c*), p. 337, where Marshall gives the word more correctly as "Nermalee." He is referring to the *Strychnos potatorum*, the Clearing Nut tree (*nirmalī kuchlā*).

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